

TWO DOLLARS



"I SAW
SELMA
RAPED"

THE

Jim Clark
STORY



THE JIM CLARK STORY

by James G. Clark

*Property
Mary Becklemey*

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TO
THE DALLAS COUNTY SHERIFF'S POSSE

“They gave their all.”
— James G. Clark
Sheriff, Dallas County

FOREWORD

Early in 1963 a secret session of the Communist International planning section was held to determine major objectives for five years to come. The over-all objective of total world power, of course, remained unchanged... What they had to do at their 1963 meeting was to decide on the next big campaign to hasten the destruction of America. One veteran revolutionary spoke up to this effect:

“Comrades, we all know that the United States is tough principally because of its strong tradition of local government. If we are going to overthrow the government of the United States, we have to do more than capture key positions in Washington, D.C....we have to overthrow local government. The key office in local government is that of Sheriff. There are 3,072 counties in the United States. We cannot concentrate on all of them at once. But we should be able to make an example of several. A preponderance of those we select should be counties in the South, both because of the large Negro population and because of the atomic and military installations there.

“Above all, we need to dramatize a man — a particular Sheriff in the Deep South, if possible — and condition results, we must select a man who does NOT have any weakness as an official, or any breath of scandal connected with the conduct of his office. If we centered our fire on a (corrupt) Sheriff...then people might retain respect for the office itself even if we succeeded in

ruining the man. What we want is a Sheriff who is just as good as a Sheriff can be. Then, when we have smeared him, we shall have smeared the office itself....

"In Dallas County, Alabama — Selma is the county seat — there is a man whom no one can criticize as a Sheriff....If we can get the press to condemn this man as brutal, then it will mean to the public that all American Sheriffs are brutal....

"Comrades, I recommend that we plan now to set up as Target of Year 1965...Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Alabama...."

— Louis W. Hollis
February, 1966

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Civil Rights And Sheriff Clark

There are several million people in the United States today who have firmly fixed and highly unflattering opinions about an Alabama sheriff whose name is Jim Clark. None of these opinions are based on personal contacts or acquaintance with Sheriff Clark. Like the convictions and beliefs that so many of us hold to, the things that many people think they know about Jim Clark are simply the products of impressions created from reading headlines over newspaper stories; looking at news photos (which stop only a split second of action and can illustrate almost any impression an editor wishes to convey); viewing and listening to highly abbreviated television news broadcasts; equally so, radio news broadcasts; from syndicated columns, the authors of which are more often best known for their creativity rather than for their objectivity; and, yes, even from sermons delivered on Sunday morning from many of our church pulpits.

Well, I am Jim Clark, Sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama. My office is in the County Court House in Selma. In a drawer of my desk I have a file of clippings from newspapers

and magazines from all over the United States which I have accumulated over the past three years. I also have a large file of personal letters and telegrams I have received from individuals from throughout the world during this same period. Most of the personal messages are complimentary— which I consider somewhat remarkable since most of the journalistic references to me are highly unflattering. I can only assume from this that there are people who can ferret out the few facts reported in otherwise colorful and imaginative accounts of what has been going on in Selma, Alabama.

To those millions who believe what they read and hear, however, a composite picture of Sheriff Jim Clark would probably look something like this:

Sheriff Jim Clark is big, burly, tough, semi-illiterate and mean. He wears a uniform, black boots, a gun on his belt, a perpetual scowl on his face and carries a billy club (or cattle prod) that is an almost permanent extension of his right arm and hand. This Sheriff Clark is believed to rule over South Alabama's Dallas County Negroes much as a pro-consul may have ruled over the inhabitants of an ancient Roman colony — you know, people who were not slaves exactly, but who were not Roman citizens either.

Sheriff Jim Clark is widely believed to ride at the head of a mounted posse of thug-like deputies whose principal function is to suppress, by force and/or intimidation, the slightest evidence of any desire on the part of the Negro inhabitants of Dallas County to establish themselves as fully human in the eyes of their white neighbors, or to raise their status one inch above that of their ancestors, who were slaves. In the discharge of these responsibilities Sheriff Clark is believed to represent a white-citizen population (mantled with guilt for generations of misdeeds, and consumed by fears of ultimate retribution) who lock themselves in at night and, with bourbon and branch water and shrill rationalizations, try to drown out the growing sounds of protest that drift in from the countryside beyond — where Sheriff Clark and his men drive the darkened roads.

The fact that no one in Selma or Dallas County would recognize this picture is beside the point. The fact that an

obscure sheriff and the people of a South Alabama county have had some bad publicity is beside the point, too. The real point is that millions of Americans, and the people of other countries around the world, have been made the victims of one of the most deadly, highly organized, effective propaganda campaigns since Joseph Goebbels sold Adolph Hitler and National Socialism to seventy million Germans — and destroyed a nation in the process.

Any good that may have resulted from the organized civil rights campaigns that began in this country a few years ago will be swept away and destroyed if the direction, the motivation and the goals of Negro-American leadership today are not exposed and destroyed first. This is the purpose of my story here. My purpose is not to defend Jim Clark and the people of Selma and Alabama — they need no defense from me. My purpose is rather to defend all the decent, law-abiding citizens of this nation from becoming the unwitting victims of a group of people who are morally depraved, personally degenerate, intellectually dishonest, and politically motivated by driving ambitions for purely personal gain and power.

Since the Selma-Montgomery march took place in the early spring of 1965, I have traveled all over the United States. I have spoken to groups in 17 states from New York to California. I have not always been well received.

In some places, in fact, I was completely drowned out by a clique of stringy haired girls and filthy young men with beards who, I feel sure, I have seen before on the streets of Selma, Alabama.

I am aware, of course, that Birmingham and Selma are not the only places in the country that have experienced racial conflicts. From first-hand experience, however, I don't know anything about the race riots in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Philadelphia or Rochester. I wasn't there and I have never lived in those cities. Anything I might have to say about these affairs and their causes would be purely opinion or hearsay. I do live in Selma. I am the Sheriff of Dallas County, an elected representative of the people of Dallas County. As sheriff, I am the highest ranking authority

for law enforcement in Dallas County. As such, I am charged by law with the responsibility and the duty to enforce the law, to maintain order and to protect the persons and the property of the citizens of my county. To do any less, or to attempt to do any less, under any circumstances, would be a dereliction of my duty and an avoidance of my responsibility for which I could not answer nor justify. Quite frankly, it has never occurred to me to do any less than the best I am capable of in this respect — although I will be the first to admit that my best may not always have been good enough.

A sheriff in Alabama, as in other states, is an elected official and a member of the executive branch of the State government, just as the Governor and Lieutenant Governor are. His duties and responsibilities are outlined and defined in the State Code. Here is what the State Code of Alabama says:

“The sheriff is the principal conservator of the peace in his county, and it is his duty to suppress all riots, unlawful assemblies, and affrays; in the execution of which duty he may summon to his aid as many of the men of his county as he thinks proper, and any military company or companies.” And:

“Every person who shall remain present at the place of any unlawful assembly after having been warned to disperse by a magistrate or public officer . . . shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.” And:

“Every person who enters into a combination with another to resist the execution of any process or other mandate of a court of competent jurisdiction, under circumstances not amounting to a riot, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.”

Throughout the course of the civil rights demonstrations in Selma, which began back in the early spring of 1963, thousands of arrests have been made. These arrests have been highly publicized as being nothing more than a part of a conspiracy, a concerted effort by a bunch of intransigent racists, to prevent Negroes in Dallas County from getting their constitutional rights. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The leaders of civil rights organizations and their

hired agitators, who descended on Selma by the hundreds, knew, as they still know, that the Sheriff of Dallas County must enforce the law. He must maintain order. He must arrest violators of the law and those who refuse to obey his lawful commands given in the pursuance of his duties. The arrests were a part of the civil rights agitators' conspiracy, not mine. This has been attested to time after time in the exhortations of speakers at Negro mass meetings in Selma. On January 21, 1965, Andrew Marisett told a mass meeting at the second Baptist Church on Hardy Street that he "didn't mind going to jail. I'm getting paid to go to jail." James Bevel, one of Martin Luther King's most militant lieutenants, has repeatedly told mass meetings of Negroes in Selma churches that he doesn't intend to obey any court order prohibiting Negroes from marching and demonstrating, whether it is a local court or a Federal court injunction. On January 27, 1965, Bevel told a meeting of Negroes at Brown's Chapel that Bull Connor had contributed to the movement and had gained freedom for the Negroes by using police dogs in Birmingham, and he said that he thought "it was time for Al Lingo (head of the Alabama State Highway Patrol) to contribute to the movement." Again at Brown's Chapel on February 23, 1965, Bevel referred to a warrant for his arrest which had been issued on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. He told the crowd that it was because of his advocating that young children stay out of school. He said that he did advocate children staying out of school to demonstrate and that he would continue to do so. Finally, here is a statement given to me by Deputy George Stoves after attending a meeting on January 26, 1965, at Brown's Chapel.

"Approximately 10:00 A.M., Tuesday, January 26, 1965, State Investigator R. W. Head and I attended a Negro meeting at Brown's Chapel located on Sylvan Street. The main speaker at this meeting was James Bevel, a paid employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Bevel asked for fifty volunteers that would march to the Dallas County Court House. Bevel stated that he wanted them to go to jail. About forty volunteered to do as they

were asked. Bevel told James Orange (another paid employee of SCLC) to pass around a notebook and get the names of all the volunteers. After the meeting was over, the volunteers left the church and marched to the court house. Upon arrival at the court house, the volunteers got in the voter registration line and were told by a Deputy U. S. Marshall that the hundred numbers had been given for the day and for them to come back the next day. They refused to leave the line. Sheriff Clark then told them that he declared it an unlawful assembly and for them to disperse immediately or be arrested. They still refused to leave the line and were arrested."

So here, you see, is another so-called mass arrest by Sheriff Clark of Negroes who are simply trying to exercise their constitutional right to vote. Baloney! A U. S. District Court had set up by Court Order a system of passing out numbers to voter applicants — up to a maximum of 100 each day. This was done in order to provide some system and in order to regulate and control the daily descent upon the Court House of crowds of applicants. The forty Negroes arrested that day were fully aware of this Court Order and had deliberately conspired to have themselves arrested. Frankly, I would have much preferred not to have arrested them, but obviously there was no choice.

This sort of thing went on all the time and, of course, contributed substantially, as it was intended to do, to the image of Sheriff Clark as a "sadistic Southern cop" and to the image of Selma and Dallas County as a place inhabited by "white racists" fighting a rear guard action against the forces of human decency and progress. Again I say "baloney!" And again I say that the victims of civil rights propagandists are not Jim Clark and the people of Dallas County, but the people of all America who don't have any way of knowing any better. I think the time is much overdue for people who live outside the South to have an opportunity to learn something more about the people in the South, black and white; the way they live; the way they work; what the South really is and how it got to be that way. If this could be accomplished, then there would be a better understanding of

the revulsion with which most people in Selma viewed the Selma-to-Montgomery march in the spring of 1965 — a revulsion not for Negroes attempting to improve themselves and their status, but rather the normal reaction of decent people against an organized invasion of their community by groups of degenerates of both races whose personal behavior was openly indecent, sexual in nature, and whether by design or otherwise, bound to provoke.

I think that if people in other parts of the United States could learn and understand something about the specific activities of representatives of the federal government in Dallas County throughout the three-year period of civil rights turmoil we have been subjected to, there would be a better appreciation of the resistance in the South to what we refer to so often as "Federal control" and a better understanding of the constant, and to many perhaps incomprehensible, championing of "state's rights."

At any rate, I think it's worth a try, so here goes. Keep in mind that, being human, it would be unnatural if I had not formed personal opinions and arrived at my own conclusions. But I am not telling this story in order to unburden myself of personal opinions nor to club anyone over the head with my own conclusions. As Sheriff of Dallas County, it is understandable that I have gathered many irrefutable facts concerning the people who descended on Selma for this so-called "crusade" for human dignity and civil rights. I'm going to give you these facts and let you draw your own conclusions. You deserve to see the other side of the coin. You can be sure that as Sheriff of Dallas County I have heard more, I have seen more, I know more than any reporter, photographer, or news commentator possibly could.

You're going to need a strong stomach to listen to all I have to tell you.

I'm not going to pull any punches.

The Selma Story

Before you can understand about places and people, you have to know something about how they started and how they came to be what they are. This is particularly true of the South, of Alabama and of Selma and Dallas County.

The story of Selma would have to begin shortly after the Peace of Ryswick which ended a war between England and France in 1697 and provided for each party to regain control of the territories in America they had held before the war. A number of Canadians had been left on the shores of France at the conclusion of hostilities, among whom was a distinguished naval officer named Iberville. Iberville was assigned the project of settling the Louisiana Territory. It was Iberville who established the first settlement at the mouth of a river which today is the Mobile River. The settlement has become Alabama's great port, Mobile.

Iberville's brother, Bienville, explored the Alabama river systems north as far as the present site of Tuskegee. In the summer of 1714, Bienville rested at a village of

the Alabamas only a short distance upstream from the present site of Selma.

During the next one hundred years, trade with the Indian tribes in the territory flourished even though the territory changed hands several times. Many of the family names of these early traders and settlers are borne today by their descendants who still live in Alabama's Black Belt.

Selma was incorporated as a town in December, 1820. Several years before, Thomas Moore had built a cabin on Moore's Bluff, and Peter Robinson, Robert Lowe and Matthew McLaughlin went into business there in 1817.

During the next forty years, immigrants continued to swarm into Alabama. In the ten years between 1820 and 1830, the population increased 142 per cent. The chief occupation, of course, was agriculture, and the large majority of families, contrary to popular belief, were small farmers. Millions of acres of virgin land were put to the plow. Most of the plantations were established and operated by slave labor in the large river basins in the Black Belt — so called because of the quality of its soil rather than for the number of slaves, although it is true that 75 per cent of the slave population of early Alabama lived in twenty-one of the Black Belt counties.

The ante-bellum South, of which Dallas County was typical, has been often described. Slavery was an important part of the economy of Alabama, particularly in south Alabama. Slavery today is simply a fact of history. That there were incidents of brutality and mistreatment of slaves is probably true. However, such incidents were few if for no other reason than that mistreatment of slaves was impractical and uneconomical. On all but the largest plantations, the slaves worked alongside the master and his sons, and it was not the lash which drove the slave but the examples set for him and the inducements of various challenges and rewards. On most of the plantations where slave labor was used, food prepared for the owner's family and food prepared for the slaves came from the same kitchen. White children and Negro children romped and played together. If the white planters and farmers in the South did not believe

that it was immoral to own slaves, they did believe it was wrong to mistreat them — which is more than can be said of many northern industrialists who established huge fortunes on the “non-slave” labor of men, women and children who worked sixteen hours a day under conditions that would have shamed any Southern planter.

None of this is a brief for slavery. Today it is just as hard for me to grasp the idea of one human being owning another as it is for John Smith in Duluth or Joe Brown in Boston. Slavery is a fact of history which nothing can ever alter. The significance of slavery is that it formed the basis for a structured society which has existed down to modern times in the South. I was born and raised in this society. Because I live in Dallas County, Alabama, where slavery existed several generations ago, I can see and understand that the concern of the white man today in Alabama for the care and well-being of his Negro neighbors is the same concern that the white man in Alabama has always felt for the Negro. This is the big difference between me and John Smith of Duluth and Joe Brown of Boston. They do not understand this attitude and furthermore they don't believe it.

People outside the South like to refer to this attitude as “paternalism.” When they say it, it's as if they were describing something base and evil in the Southern character. Actually, a better word to describe this attitude would be just plain “humanitarian.” You have to remember that when 400,000 slaves were freed in Alabama at the end of the Civil War, they didn't just disappear into thin air. They were still here, and after the Freedmen's Bureau of the first Johnson administration, and the Federal troops and the Carpetbaggers had finished exploiting them, there was no one else to look after the Negro but the Southern white man. No one else cared enough about him or understood his plight. The structured social order that developed, or I should say continued, in the South was a natural and inevitable outgrowth of conditions which existed in the South prior to and following the Civil War. But if people outside the South believe that the white Southerner hates and fears the Negro, it is because

they have been completely and often deliberately misinformed.

Selma, Alabama is like most progressive cities in the South. While it had a vital and inspiring pre-Civil War history, to understand what Selma is today and how it developed you have to start with the Civil War.

There are literally millions of American citizens today whose parents, grandparents and great-grandparents came from the old countries. To these citizens, the American Civil War is something they study in history books. It is not much closer to them than the Battle of Waterloo or the War of Roses. This is not true of a vast number of the people who live in the South — particularly up to the end of World War II. The issues over which the Civil War was fought are dead and gone from the minds of Southerners. But the physical facts of the war that was fought in the South a hundred years ago, and the physical facts of the reconstruction period which followed, cannot be obliterated simply by turning the pages of a history book. What Dallas County and Selma and their people are today is, in large part, a product of this period.

Selma, Alabama came face-to-face with the spectre of war four generations ago when General J. H. Wilson arrived with 9,000 of his troops outside the town on April 2, 1865. Wilson attacked Confederate General Nathan Forrest who was defending the city with 3,000 troops, some of whom were citizens who volunteered for the defense of the city. Wilson attacked Selma at nightfall. Forrest, with only two or three hundred men, managed to escape. The rest were killed or captured. Let the eminent historian Dr. A. B. Moore describe what followed.

"Selma had an awful night. Barrels of government whisky, which the Confederates did not have time to destroy, played a large part in the city's fate. Wilson's men got drunk, threw to the winds their general's orders against plundering, and sacked the city after the fashion of vandals. Their conduct beggars description. Fleming says: 'The city was wholly given up to the soldiers, the houses sacked, the women robbed of their watches, earrings, rings, and other

jewelry. The Negroes were pressed into the work of destruction, and when they refused to burn and destroy, they were threatened with death by the soldiers. Everyone was robbed who had anything worth taking about his person — no exception being made of Negro men and women who were possessed of mere pittance of money and trinkets.'

"The naval foundry and navy yard, rolling mills, the arsenal, powder works, magazines, army stores, and railroad bridges were destroyed, of course, as legitimate prey of war. Besides these, public buildings and store houses, practically all of the business houses, and scores of residences were burned; and along with them, and for good measure, 35,000 bales of cotton were destroyed. The city's calamity was climaxed by Wilson's order to kill all horses and mules not needed by his men. The stench of the carcasses, lying in the streets, roads, and dooryards became awful, and the people of the town had to call upon their friends in the country for teams to remove the dead animals.

"On April 10 Wilson's command set out for Montgomery, Columbus and West Point. Selma was left behind in ashes, its citizens embittered beyond measure by the murders, personal indignities, robberies, and other atrocities committed against them."

War, of course, is an ugly business wherever and by whomever it is fought.

In the spring of 1865 Alabama's battle-scarred veterans came straggling home. Many of them were crippled and half-starved. All were in rags. What they found were ashes, of course. The accumulated wealth of forty years of hard work had been destroyed in four years of war. Farm houses and plantations were in a state of semi-ruin. Bridges were down. Cotton gins and grist mills had been destroyed. Large tracts of once-cultivated land had been stripped of all vestiges of fencing. Roads had become impassable. There was no money. Stores were empty. Former slaves were demoralized. They roamed the countryside and converged on the towns where they hoped to find some tangible evidence of their new-found freedom. They were exploited unmercifully. Most of the farm animals had been sacrificed to the

war. Often men and women were forced, literally, to hitch themselves to the plows. Some of them, their homes destroyed, built lean-tos in the woods at the edge of their fields. No way of earning a living was too humiliating or to be ignored. Women baked bread and cakes which their men sold to the Federal soldiers. Men fished and gathered mussels from the streams.

The political reconstruction of the South began under the first Johnson administration. President Johnson seems to have had a particular hatred for what he referred to as the planter class. Left to himself, it seems likely that he would have unleashed a reign of terror on the South unlike anything experienced in modern times. Wiser counsel prevailed, however, and Johnson satisfied himself by proclaiming provisions for amnesty for all but fourteen classes of persons — which happened to embrace practically all Confederate and State officials and all the old political leaders of the State. These could be pardoned only by making a special application. In other words, a large majority of the people who were capable of assuming responsibility for restoring some semblance of order were disenfranchised.

What President Johnson intended to do was to re-establish a State government from people made eligible by his pardon and the special oath. In this he was violently opposed by a hostile and vindictive Congress.

In 1867, the Congress passed the famous Reconstruction Act which declared the Johnson state governments illegal. The ten Southern states were divided into five military districts and a general officer was put in command of each district. His power was absolute. Alabama and the other states were reduced to a territorial status and were ruled by military government for the next seven years.

The Negro was a central figure in reconstruction. Under the Congressional Reconstruction Act, he was a powerful factor in the rehabilitation of the State. It is not hard to understand that the sudden liberation of 400,000 slaves in Alabama, who became instruments of revenge and the means for promoting the interests of a powerful political party, created social and political problems that

were almost impossible to solve. To the freed slaves freedom meant the end of work. Many of them, of course, after straggling around for a while, returned to their old plantations where they went back to work for their former masters.

I find it interesting to compare the present-day ignorance on the part of much of the national press with respect to the relationship between Negroes and whites in Alabama today with the ignorance displayed by the northerner of those days. Northerners in the reconstruction period could not understand the attachments that bound the Negro to his former master. They seemed to believe that there was and always had been a feeling of hostility between them, and that unless the people of the North intervened, the white people in the South would continue to hold the Negro in abject ignorance and subject to a refined type of bondage. It seems to me that this describes the viewpoint of a large part of the national press today.

Political and social conditions in Alabama during the period of military occupation were almost unbelievable. Life and property were insecure. In 1868, William H. Smith became governor. He was a mean and vindictive man whose idea seems to have been that he was governor only of the few thousand Unionists in the state (remember that the state governments operated solely at the will of the military governor). The Lieutenant Governor, A. J. Applegate, was an illiterate Federal soldier and, by reputation, a thief. Attorney-General Morse was under indictment for murder. He was relieved of this embarrassment through an act of the State Legislature, a common practice at the time adopted for the convenience of public officials who had the disadvantage of a criminal indictment hanging over them. At one time, twenty of the members of the Legislature were under indictment for various crimes such as "stealing, adultery, bigamy, arson, riot, illegal voting, assault, bribery and murder." In fact, the State Legislature, almost to a man, was corrupt, ignorant and illiterate. One observer has described its proceedings like this:

"Proceedings were awkward and noisy. Legislative services were on the auction block. The Negro members

imitated and voted with the whites, until they became tired and dropped off to sleep. Quarrels and fights, some with murderous intent, were frequent; and the bellowings and contortions of Negroes on the floor, reinforced by similar movements and shouts of approval from the blacks in the gallery made a scene that baffles description. Whisky shops, lunch counters, and peanut and fruit stands in the halls and cloak rooms, maintained at public expense, satiated the stomachs of the legislative rabble."

Local government at the time was equally fantastic. In Selma, Democrats who had managed to win a number of minor offices were disqualified by the legislature in order to make room for the appointment, by the Governor, of radicals. Negroes served as policemen and as sheriffs. There were a few Negroes who served as judges. A Negro, who was a slave until 1865, served as a city judge in Selma in 1868. Many of the judges had never studied law, and some of the sheriffs and court officers couldn't even sign their names. What was even worse, some of the county school superintendents had to sign their names with a cross.

There is a lot more, much more, but Jim Clark is not the man to lecture on history, politics or sociology. The reason for this brief historical diversion is simply to emphasize what I said at the start. In order to understand what a community and its people are, you have to go back to the beginning and see where they came from. When you come to Alabama today, and visit cities like Huntsville, Birmingham, Gadsden, Selma, Montgomery and Mobile, you are visiting a state and meeting people who have built what is here today on the ashes of the Civil War. What you see in Alabama today was created by people who pulled themselves up out of the ashes by their own bootstraps, who literally hitched themselves to the plows, and who prevailed throughout a period when the conquering forces of a victorious government almost daily demanded, and got, its pound of flesh — even when it was not there to give. The total cost of the war to the South was far greater than the cost of World War I to the Germans, and it was during the period that the South was paying these costs that the foundations

for many of the great fortunes in the North and East were being laid. It has been a long, hard, uphill journey from 1865 to 1965, and the Southern white man has carried with him, every step of the way, the Negro.

When I look at Selma today, when I look at Alabama and the rest of the South, I see nothing to be ashamed of nor to feel guilty about. The truth is the people of Selma and the South have more to be proud of than the people of any other part of this nation.

Civil Rights And Police

In the past when the press and news commentators have taken on Sheriff Jim Clark, almost always in the next breath, and in the same context, I might add, they bring up the posse of volunteers I first organized back in 1958. A popular misconception seems to be that this posse exists only to assist me in a continuing campaign to brutalize Dallas County Negroes. If the purveyors of this fantasy could ever tear themselves away from the bars, where most of their creative work seems to be accomplished, long enough to get out into the county and talk to some of the Negroes, they would quickly learn different.

The sheriff's posse in Dallas County is made up of volunteers who serve without pay during any emergency that requires more law enforcement officers than I can supply with my nine full-time deputies. They furnish their own uniforms and equipment. They must meet rigid standards of personal character, background and physical fitness. They are recommended to me by a completely

independent screening committee of five leading citizens of the county.

Dallas County encompasses 976 square miles which is predominantly rural. In the area of my jurisdiction live 23,952 white citizens and 32,715 Negroes. This works out to provide one law enforcement officer per 97.6 square miles and per 5,666 population. Dallas County is not exactly crawling with peace officers.

What sort of "emergencies" can arise that a sheriff and nine deputies would not be able to handle? Anyone who can spare thirty seconds for consideration of this question can come up with the answers. In March, 1960, for instance, the posse rescued several thousand citizens, mostly Negroes, from the waters of the Alabama River which had overrun its banks and flooded farm lands and homes over a wide area. Then the posse volunteered to patrol the flooded areas of Dallas County to prevent looting and to protect the property of home owners until they could be safely returned. I made so many trips in a helicopter during this period that the aircraft manufacturer decided to award me a certificate as a flight engineer.

The incident which produced this award involved a Negro woman who lived on an island in the Alabama River. The waters were rising rapidly, it was late in the afternoon and we had been working all day removing people who had become stranded by the flood waters. I was acting as flight engineer on one of the aircraft — the same job I had had in World War II, only this time I was operating a hoist instead of twin 50's.

The last evacuation my crew made was a Negro woman who not only weighed over 300 lbs., she stood not more than five feet tall. She refused to be evacuated until her goat, tied to a rail on her back porch approximately 300 yards from where we had put down, had been released. I sprinted to the goat, untied it and turned to go back to the helicopter. The goat's massive owner stood at my shoulder. Now she refused to go in the helicopter. Have you ever wrestled a five-foot, 300 lb. woman across a quarter-mile field of plowed mud? I have. There are

easier jobs. Next morning the houses on the island showed only the roof-tops above the water.

A policeman, sheriff, or any law enforcement officer, must learn to accept, as an occupational hazard, a certain amount of abuse — physical and otherwise. Practically no one is ever "guilty," whether it's the man who was doing 60 miles per hour through the middle of town, the lady who failed to stop at an intersection or the guy who has the trunk of his car loaded with burglar tools. Whether they are organized and pursuing some purpose of their own, or whether they have gathered spontaneously, a large number of people collected in one spot presents problems of control for a police officer. Inevitably, someone is going to be made unhappy when his "rights" are violated by a police officer who asks him to move on. In recent years, as we all know, highly explosive situations have been created by the mass demonstrations of civil rights organizations. The seeds of violence and riot are almost always present when mobs of people take to the streets in protest against something that they don't like. The fact that there is a "protest" involved in the first place automatically means that there must be another "side," that there is another group which contests against the aims of the protestors. The unhappy responsibility of the police officer is to place himself between these two time bombs and try to keep them from exploding. Whether he succeeds or not, he can't win. It does not matter that he uses as the chief instrument of control the enforcement of laws which were adopted by the governmental authority he represents for the express purpose of protecting its citizens from civil disorder and mob violence. If his official actions are directed toward members of a group who are demonstrating for civil rights, the police officer becomes an opponent of civil rights. He is preventing people from registering to vote. If his actions are directed toward those gathered to protest some alleged injustice or inequity involved in labor-management disputes, he may be accused of trying to "smash organized labor"; if they are directed toward whites who have gathered to protest the activities of Negroes, he may become a "nigger lover." As I say, you

can't win.

The public image of Jim Clark, as created by supporters of militant civil rights activities, is that of a man who seems dedicated to the suppression of Negroes' rights to vote. By extension of this illogic, the Sheriff's Posse in Dallas County becomes a sort of personal Gestapo of mine, organized and maintained to assist me in these efforts.

The Sheriff's Posse was organized in 1958 when Dallas County was threatened with labor trouble. Let's face it, conflicts between labor and management throughout the years have produced some of this country's most violent civil disorders. If any sort of civil disorder threatens Dallas County, whether it involves labor-management disputes, civil rights, or what not, it is my job to anticipate it and to be prepared to control it. It's as simple as that. The Communist newspaper "The Worker" and other labor newspapers were naturally outraged when I organized the posse. "The Oregon Labor Press" headlined a recent news story like this: SELMA POSSE'S ORIGINAL AIM: STOP UNIONS (NOT NEGROES). The story went on to say that "the armed, mounted civilian posse responsible for much of the brutality against civil rights demonstrators here had its origins as an anti-labor force in 1958. It was first organized by Sheriff Jim Clark to combat union activities in the area."

You get that word "combat"? There is no suggestion that Sheriff Clark may have been simply trying to get some help to handle a potential situation that an undermanned staff of nine deputies couldn't possibly handle. No, in this case, Sheriff Clark was trying to "smash organized labor." One news story concluded by saying, "There is not much private vigilante violence like there is in Mississippi. Instead, Jim Clark provides the whites with legal, tax-supported terror."

For all I know, I may be held in equally low regard by some organized white groups. During one tense period in Selma, I arrested six men, at least one of whom was a member of a Georgia Klan. They had baseball bats and rubber hoses in their car. I charged them with possession of concealed weapons. I couldn't make this charge stand.

The local judge ruled that baseball bats and hoses were not "weapons." I'm sure that he was right. I ran the six men out of town — which I am sure was a violation of their "civil rights."

During the organized demonstrations in Selma, I tried to maintain a semblance of order and control where the Negroes were concerned. I insisted on a strict observance of the law and an immediate response to the lawful commands of my deputies. I reinforced this by the prompt arrest of all offenders. As far as white groups were concerned, I never even let them gather if I could prevent it — for obvious reasons.

There is nothing in any of my official actions in Selma that necessarily reflects in any way what my personal feelings may be, any more than the police handling of riots in Watts, Harlem or Rochester, New York reflects the personal feelings of chiefs Parker, Broderick, or Lombard. A police officer can hardly afford to have personal feelings these days, much less give expression to them in the performance of his duties. If he does, he is really in for trouble.

In the spring of 1963, Colonel Al Lingo, at that time head of the Alabama State Highway Patrol, called on me and the Sheriff's Posse for help. Colonel Lingo had gone to Birmingham to take charge of the situation when it appeared that the six-weeks-long demonstrations there could erupt into something more violent. At that time, the Birmingham demonstrations were being described all over the world as "race riots." Police officers were pictured as low-grade morons and thugs, and Birmingham's firemen were believed to spend all their time hosing down Negro children who were left bleeding on the city streets. Since that time, we have seen the riots in Harlem, Rochester, Philadelphia, Chicago and Watts. By comparison, what occurred in Birmingham was a Sunday School picnic. I think this is worth some comment because what happened in those cities could have happened in Birmingham except for the prompt, effective police action.

The demonstrations in Birmingham began in March, 1963. The issues at that time involved the integration of

public facilities, the hiring of Negro employees by private businesses and the hiring of Negroes by the city government. The demonstrations were aimed at the main business section of downtown Birmingham. The efforts of the Birmingham Police Department were directed toward keeping large mobs of Negroes out of the downtown section of the city. In this, they were largely successful. For the most part, the thousands of Negroes who congregated around Negro churches every day were confined to the one-block area of Kelly Ingram Park. Except for the reading of their daily newspapers, people in Birmingham would have been unaware that anything was going on. What Martin Luther King refers to as "dramatizing" his demands was not being very well dramatized.

As weeks went by, and the only people hurt were firemen and policemen who were the daily targets for bricks and bottles, Negro leaders stepped up their efforts to "dramatize" their demands. One day several large gangs of Negro youths managed to get through police lines and surged through the streets of Birmingham's main business district. They ran shouting and screaming through stores and knocked people to the pavement on the sidewalks outside. Local police were forced to disperse widely in order to corral these gangs. Tension increased and outside help was called in.

Colonel Lingo and a contingent of Highway Patrolmen arrived in Birmingham to take charge at the request from local authorities to Governor Wallace. At the request of Governor Wallace, I took my posse to assist the Highway Patrolmen. (The name was changed to State Troopers in the fall of 1963.)

Shortly before midnight on a Saturday night in May, a bomb exploded outside the Smith-Gaston Motel on Fifth Avenue, North, one-half block from Kelly Ingram Park. The first Birmingham police officer to reach the scene had been only one block away when the bomb went off. He reached the motel, where Martin Luther King was supposed to have been staying, in a matter of seconds. In spite of the lateness of the hour, this police officer was greeted by a large mob of

Negroes who had materialized almost immediately out of the night. When he pulled up to a stop in front of the motel, his patrol car was bombarded with a barrage of bricks, bottles and chunks of concrete block — drawn from some apparently inexhaustible supply already at hand.

Colonel Lingo and I arrived a few minutes later on a scene that almost defies description except in terms of organized warfare. A taxi cab driver had been hauled from his car and stabbed by a group of Negroes. A police officer had been isolated, knocked to the ground and stabbed in the back. He was rescued barely in time to save his life. Inspector Bill Haley of the Birmingham Police Department had blood streaming down his face from a head wound he received when he was struck by a chunk of concrete. Around the corner from the motel, stores, residences and apartments had been set on fire. They burned to the ground when firemen who came into the area to fight the fires were driven back by a barrage of bricks and bottles.

This was not a race riot because there were no whites involved. It could easily have developed into a race riot if the Negroes had been allowed to get out of the area. They were not.

By daylight Sunday morning, everyone was off the streets. A few people had been hurt but no lives were lost. There was force used, a lot of determination, and no arguments permitted from anyone.

I think Chief Parker of the Los Angeles Police Department might be the first to admit that if he had used more force immediately, instead of being persuaded to take twenty-four hours to discuss the situation, the Watts riot which took 37 lives and destroyed millions of dollars of property might never have developed.

In Watts, charges of police brutality were hurled at Chief Parker. In Harlem, the riots were supposed to have grown out of the shooting of a young Negro by an off-duty police lieutenant — more police brutality. Birmingham police have been widely described as a bunch of thugs. More recently, the villain is Jim Clark of Selma. Who knows who the "heavy" may be tomorrow. I wonder if after the violence,

killing, looting and burning that has swept through the streets of American communities in the last three years, it is possible that the citizens of these communities have not come to understand that the police officer involved is not interested in the color of the skins of the perpetrators? I think that Deputy Chief George L. Steele of Watertown, New York, expresses best the feelings of most of us in law enforcement. In a letter to his local newspaper, Chief Steele said:

"I am a policeman and I am proud to be one. I am proud because I know in my heart that I, and my brother officers, are powerful influences for good. We are the 'thin blue line' which protects the decent citizens from the human beasts who prowl our streets. We represent your government and everything it stands for.

"We insure your peace, your security, and protect your rights through the orderly processes of government function. We represent the law and we represent justice.

"We are being represented as being the agents of lawlessness and injustice. Police brutality is a phrase so commonly used that even the good people who live in relative peace and security under our protection are beginning to believe that we lead a Jekyll-Hyde kind of existence.

"Nothing could be farther from the truth. No group of men has a greater respect for law and for justice than the police and none try harder to prevent injustice.

"Dr. Martin Luther King chose to disregard all authority, including the Federal Court and the President. In Selma he said 'I feel that we must march,' and march they did — until they ran into a force which stood ready to enforce the orders of authority, with violence if necessary. Fortunately, violence was not necessary. The memory, fresh in their minds of the force of two days before was sufficient. Apparently lawful orders and urgent pleas meant nothing — but the night stick did.

"Again I ask, was this force, or threat of force, on March 9 necessary, and if so, does it indicate an answer to the second question — was more than a necessary amount of force used on March 7?

"To answer this, one should bear in mind that although the night stick was used liberally, no one was killed and no one was seriously injured. It would appear to me that the lesson learned on Sunday by the actual application of force had a direct bearing on the dispersal, without violence, of the March 9 march, which was held in willful disobedience to authority and in spite of appeal from the highest officer in the land, the President.

"The 'Bleeding Hearts' who so abhor the use of force by your police are depriving you of protection. They are aiding and abetting this sort of thing. They are condoning riot and lawlessness.

"You have to choose whether you want protection under law or whether you don't. And if you do want protection, you had better stop shouting from the housetops 'police brutality.' You had better start to realize that the use of force is sometimes necessary, whether it is used against a lawless group that is passive, or a lawless group that is violent.

"No policeman wants to use force, but every policeman knows that it is sometimes necessary, and that these mobs, passive or violent, are not going to be restrained by pleading. If the day ever comes when you don't need force, you won't need policemen either."

To these words I can only add, for myself and the Dallas County Posse, "Amen," along with the reminder that there is only a hairline difference between a "peaceful" demonstration and a full-scale riot. That difference is strict law enforcement.

Sex And Civil Rights

Although civil rights activities in Selma had begun many months before the famous march to Montgomery in March, 1965, the most widespread publicity developed during this period. The biggest furor occurred when an Alabama Congressman, William L. Dickinson, on the floor of the House of Representatives made charges accusing a sizeable element of the participants in this march of widespread immorality and misconduct in Selma and Montgomery during several days before the march began, and along the march itself.

Congressman Dickinson was immediately set upon from all sides. He was accused of deliberately lying. He was accused of spreading "garbage." His motives were impugned as being politically inspired. His two speeches in Congress were labeled vicious attacks against the church and churchmen. Congressman Dickinson probably got himself in some trouble by his reference to pictures. His attackers immediately took the offensive and attempted to discredit

everything the Congressman had said because he could not produce pictures to prove it. I don't know how Congressman Dickinson got himself out on this limb. I do know that everything he said was true, and the proof was all there. I helped to provide him with most of it.

Having read the newspapers myself, I can understand how people far removed from the actual scene in Selma could get an impression that the thousands who came to Selma were all well-motivated, sincere individuals who had joined in what they believed was a sort of crusade for human dignity, individual liberty and civil rights which had been denied a long-suffering racial minority of American citizens. The participation of many church people of all faiths lent substance and dignity to the demonstration. But if what they marched in protest against was valid then, by extension, the protest was against the people of Selma who would have to be construed as those responsible for the conditions which inspired the demonstration in the first place. Are there people in any community in the United States who would not be offended by the presumption of thousands of people from all parts of the nation who descended upon them in an open and obvious display of contempt for their character and moral integrity? I can see no other interpretation the people of Selma could have applied to the invasion and intrusion of these people.

The whole performance would have been offensive enough if those involved had all been decent and well-motivated. The truth is quite another matter. The invasion of Selma by hordes of filthy, promiscuous degenerates began many days before the arrival of most of the high-ranking representatives of the religious, social and political orders who participated in the final demonstration down Highway 80 into Montgomery. I describe these first cadres in these terms because I don't know how else to accurately convey the impressions created by these young people of both sexes and races who inflicted their almost indescribable indecencies on the people of a host community — and all under the protective mantle of a cause championed by forces of the federal government all the way up to the

President of the United States.

I don't know how many people believe that what I say is true. I can only say to those who don't that it's just because they don't want to. In my mind, having been personally and officially involved in this desecration, I must say that the citizens of Selma showed a most remarkable and commendable restraint in the face of overwhelming provocation.

During the first two weeks in March, when people first began to come to my office and to call me about the things that were going on right in front of their eyes, I had a hard time believing them. From long years in law enforcement I am very much aware that many sensational stories which reach the ears of the Sheriff can become so embellished and exaggerated along the way that they bear little or no resemblance to the actual event, if any. But as the flood of outraged citizens increased and the evidence of my own eyes could no longer be denied, I began to insist that anyone making a report to me must be willing to sit down, dictate a statement telling who he was, where he had been on what date, at what time, why, and that he was an actual eyewitness to what he described. Then I took him before a notary and made him take an oath as to the truth of what he had said. I think most of us can appreciate that this is the best way to separate fact from fiction. Not many people will make a sworn statement to something that they have only heard about second- or third-hand.

For example, here are excerpts from a handful of the affidavits I have accumulated:

"My wife and I drove to Selma on Sunday, the day the march was to begin. We saw many people taking pictures of the church, and it appeared that everything was very orderly and nice. We tried to drive by Brown's Chapel where the Negroes were assembled but the street was blocked off. We parked at the corner of Broad and Water Streets and sat and waited for the march to begin. At approximately 11 a.m., we observed an ambulance arrive at Brown's Chapel and depart shortly thereafter, going

toward Montgomery, with sirens and blinking red lights in operation.

"The people in the car next to ours were very distressed about the condition of the nuns who were taking part in the march. These people were Episcopalians and from St. Louis, Missouri, and had heard that some of their own church people were taking part in the march. The general appearance of the marchers was disgraceful, most of the marchers we saw were Negroes, but the white men and women who were mixed in with them were holding hands and arms with them. We watched for King to come by, but never did see him walk by. When he came by he was riding in a station wagon, and the station wagon rode along with the marchers and I observed King getting out of it several times.

"Between Selma and the first stop I observed both men and women relieving themselves in public, all together and making no attempt to conceal themselves at all."

* * * * *

"At the rest stop, I saw King sitting by the side of the road. A man walked up to him and handed him a slip of paper which seemed to concern King greatly. He said, 'We'll take care of this at the next rest stop.'

"At one point I observed a young beatnik-type man with his collar turned around to resemble a priest. He told me that it was 'the way to get along.' Another told me that he had been offered \$15 a day, 3 meals a day, and all the sex he could handle if he would come down and join in the demonstration from the North.

"It appeared that the demonstrators were making every effort to stir up some sort of trouble. At one point, one of the marchers said to me, 'Get out of the way, you white bastard.' They were making other similar remarks to others standing along the street.' "

* * * * *

"During the march, or attempted march, from Selma to Montgomery on March 9, 1965, myself and the men under my command were stationed along the north side of the road just east of Pettus Bridge. While the march was stopped in the highway, one of the white beatniks, with a goatee, told one of my troopers who was standing only a few feet from me that he was being paid \$10 per day, 3 meals, and all the Negro p— he wanted. This same beatnik was observed for the next eight days in Selma acting as some sort of leader around Sylvan Street, where the street demonstration was going on. He was in the company of a white girl part of the time and a Negro girl part time. The next time I saw him after Selma was when he came up Dexter Avenue on March 18th."

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"While at the Sylvan Street 'Berlin Rope,' I and many others observed smooching and lovemaking between Negroes and whites. A news reporter called me over to the side of the street and pointed to a couple just to the rear of the group standing in the street, a mixed couple who were in the act of having sexual relations. About this time, a priest broke it up and had the couple come up to the 'Rope.' It didn't seem to bother any of the three and soon all were gone from the front of the line."

* * * * *

"On Saturday, March 13, they had an extra large crowd of both Negroes and whites in the streets. They attempted to scatter and go around the blockade. One Negro who was standing beside a priest, and both standing about three feet from a line of Troopers, made several attempts to provoke a Trooper into hitting him. The Negro waved three dollar bills in the Trooper's face and then dropped them, saying, 'Why don't you pick them up, I know you need it.' During this time, the priest just grinned. The Negro man then said, 'I'll sleep with a white woman

tonight.' The priest seemed to think this was real funny. The priest and Negro would whisper back and forth and then laugh out loud. I overheard three beatniks talking, saying that they had been in Cleveland, Berkeley, California and Harlem, and had come directly to Selma to join in the demonstrations there."

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"On the afternoon of March 8th, at about 6 p.m., as we were turning onto U. S. 80 at the intersection of Alabama 21, which is downtown Selma, I, along with 30 of my men, saw two men dressed as priests and four young Negro girls walk across U.S. 80. The priests were holding hands with two Negro girls each. The Reverend Reeb was beaten about two or three hours later.

"One tall priest was observed for several days around Sylvan Street, always in the company of a Negro girl of about sixteen years of age. Anytime you saw one you saw the other, and usually they were holding hands. They were in the march to the Courthouse in Selma on Monday, March 15. They went to and from the County Courthouse holding hands."

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"On the night of March 16, at 10 p.m., a group of thirty-four (34) men, mostly dressed as priests, came from a Negro church in Montgomery to the front of the Capitol. They stated that they wanted to get on the Capitol steps to hold a 'Prayer-Service.' They were told that they could hold their service on the walk but not on the steps. They stayed until 3 a.m., insisting that they be allowed up on the Capitol grounds. After about thirty minutes, the news media were told to get out of the street and they moved across the street. Some of the men claiming to be priests cursed like sailors during these five hours. At 3 a.m., when they started to leave, two photographers, apparently in their employment, came running across the street.

One of them dressed as a priest said, 'You stupid son-of-a-bitch, after all this time here you didn't get a picture of us saying a prayer on the bottom step.' They were allowed to kneel on the bottom step in an attempt to get rid of them."

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"During the eight days in Selma, several newspaper men who were allowed to go to the rear of the demonstration came back up to the front and told us they observed white and Negro couples in the act of sexual relations. They told us that they had sent the story and pictures home to their papers. One told me that the only thing he recognized about his story when it was printed was his name. He had asked to be allowed to leave the Selma area but was refused by his paper.

"A Jewish rabbi who was on the five-hour stand at the Capitol was contacted by a Trooper in a barber shop the next day. The rabbi stated that the leaders had lied to him. He stated that, 'They told me we'd only be at the Capitol forty-five minutes at the most, but after getting there they wanted to remain all night.' He said further, 'They want bodies and blood in the street, our bodies, and I am going home today and tell everyone how I've been lied to.' "

* * * * *

"The National Guard unit of which I am a member was activated on March 20, 1965. We were assigned the task of guarding camp sites of the Negro Voter-Protest Marchers on their march from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, Alabama. This duty we commenced to perform on Tuesday, March 23, 1965, at 1:00 pm, picking up contact with the marchers on Highway 80.

"During such time of duty with my National Guard unit, I personally saw one case of sexual intercourse between a young white boy and a Negro girl. I further swear and

attest that I saw occasions of public urination in and near the camp sites.

"Many of the Negro marchers, most especially the young ones, made remarks and statements to members of the National Guard which were, in my opinion, for the purpose of inflaming the emotions of said members of the Guard."

* * * * *

"I saw several Negro males, that I know by sight, in a drunken condition. One Negro was there most of the time and was drunk every time that I saw him. The others came and went at intervals. I also saw a short Negro in a green sweater come to the front of the line stretched across the street on three different occasions and rub up against white girls, feeling their breasts and other parts of their bodies and then taking them off to the rear of the crowd and on to different apartments. One of the white girls was a short fat girl with a white sweatshirt on; another was a medium tall girl, wearing a green coat and carrying a camera bag. This second girl also made several passes at some of the other Negro men on the front line on other occasions. I do not remember what the third white girl looked like that the short Negro carried off as I only saw her that one time.

"On one occasion I saw a white man and a Negro female lying side by side beneath a blanket in the middle of the street just before daylight. There was a good deal of movement by both parties beneath the blanket. The white man, the day before, was wearing a priest robe. The next day he was wearing a sweatshirt and dungaree pants. That man is still in town, or was on Saturday, March 3, 1965."

* * * * *

"To begin with I saw white females from other counties, other states I believe, building up their sexual desires with Negro males. After a few minutes of necking

and kissing, the Negro male would lead them off into the Negro housing project. I watched this procedure many, many times.

"On another occasion, I saw a white male meet a Negro male on the front porch of Rev. Lewis' parsonage; they embraced and kissed each other mouth to mouth.

"On Friday afternoon before the Sunday of the march to Montgomery, Officer Hewston and I were parked across the street in front of Brown's Chapel. We noticed a big, heavy-set Negro male near a small tree in front of the parsonage; he was talking to a white female. They were talking, laughing and slapping each other on the back. They moved in closer to the tree, he had one hand hanging on a limb; she would move in very close to where she would rub on his legs and stomach. He was acting like he had ants in his pants. He would put his hands in his pocket attempting to control his sexual impulses.

"Finally they locked lips together as if they were sucking each other's tongue, this lingered for 2 or 3 minutes; he then took her by the arm and they walked down the sidewalk towards the Baptist Church."

* * * * *

"My name is Richard Perrino Emmet. I presently serve as Judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of the State of Alabama. I formerly presided over the Family Court of Montgomery, Alabama. The Family Court is charged with the responsibility of handling all juvenile matters. All boys and girls who have not reached their 18th birthday are considered juveniles.

"During the recent disturbances in Montgomery, the present Family Court Judge was called out of town and inasmuch as I had formerly presided over the Court, I assisted in handling all demonstrators who fell in the juvenile category.

"Several white females, still seniors in high school, from various northern cities were taken into protective custody. Their parents were notified and they were re-

leased to their parents. Several college freshmen were also taken into protective custody who were 17 years of age or under.

"One white female from the midwest who is attending college in Florida as a National Merit finalist was taken into custody when she was found with three Negro men at night on the grounds of the State Capitol in a state of partial disrobement.

"I contacted her father, a minister in a midwestern community, informed him of the circumstances in which his daughter was found, that she was in Montgomery unchaperoned and apparently with no place to stay.

"He informed me that he had encouraged his daughter to come to Montgomery and that she was there with his approval. He did not seem to be shocked upon learning the circumstances of his daughter's apprehension."

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"One night about 200 demonstrators were singing in the street while I observed a limp-wrist white male standing in the front row with a blanket over his shoulder and a black male's shoulder. This white man had his arm around the Negro and at one time he kissed the Negro in the mouth with a long lingering kiss. A few minutes later these two men walked out of the line together, arm in arm, toward the church.

"On another occasion in Selma, Lt. Jeffries and myself were making a round around the blocked-off area of the church and we stopped a 1957 Ford driven by John Calhoun, a Negro man from Montgomery. There was another Negro man in the front seat and a Negro man and white girl about 24 years old in the back seat. The girl tried to conceal her race by putting a coat over her head. I got both of these people out of the car, the white girl and the Negro man and observed their appearance. The Negro had on dungaree pants. They were unzipped on the side. The girl said she was from California."

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"On several occasions I saw white girls rubbing up against Negro men and kissing them on the street in this demonstration. I also saw Negro men feel the breast and butt of white girls, making no attempt to hide this but rather appearing like they wanted everyone to see them.

"I noticed prophylactics on the ground near the church several different times."

* * * * *

"Of the many marches on the Dallas County Courthouse, the one which impressed me as being the most disgusting display of the manifestation of the close association of the motley crew that had been camping day and night for several days on Sylvan Street was the demonstration held on the afternoon of March 17, 1965. Most probably by design to incur the wrath of any onlookers, the marchers came to the courthouse two by two, each being a mixture either of older white man with adolescent colored girl or colored man with white woman. A display of so-called 'affection': hand holding, entwining arms, waist encircling. All overt acts of familiarity have long, and I realize until recently, been looked upon as in the poorest taste. All of these were flaunted in a supposedly religious service on a public street before a public building, an open display for any one who would look on.

"After the demonstrators had been assembled before the courthouse for a few minutes, rain began to fall. Those of the crowd who had on coats or raincoats began to share their wraps with their partners or neighbors in the group. Aging, balding men wearing clerical collars spread their coats and gathered in youngish colored girls; others made tents of their coats and several stood huddled close under these improvised umbrellas. Putting their actions down in print cannot begin to convey what went on in the way of numerous physical contacts between members of the two races and of the two sexes. Perhaps

this behavior was not 'immoral' in our modern day when the accepted ideas of morality are so lax, but it most certainly was immodest and distasteful. We very soon closed our blinds against the scene and have tried to erase the memory from our minds.

"As my husband is on the staff of a local Southern Baptist Church, I spent much of the time the demonstration above described was in progress trying to defend 'men of the cloth' against the criticism being brought on them by the men attired in 'the cloth' who were taking part in this public spectacle."

* * * * *

"I am a City Policeman and was on duty during the demonstration in front of Brown's Chapel Church. Due to the fact that it was raining, the demonstrators attempted to put up tents in the middle of the street which was furnished by one of the Negro funeral homes in the city. They were told that they could not pitch tents in the middle of the street so they moved the tents and put them up on the lawns of G.W.C. Project.

"After tents were put up, they made sides for them out of polyethylene, which is a plastic that you can see through. When night came the demonstrators started making their beds on the ground inside the tents. Both Negroes and white demonstrators were bedding down side by side. A young teenage Negro boy and girl were engaged in a sexual intercourse that was interrupted by a newsman who attempted to take a picture of the act. I was at the barricade when I saw the above. Also during the time spent guarding the demonstrators there was constant kissing and hugging, and rubbing up against each other and pairing off and leaving the group that was in the street. The above mentioned demonstration took place in March, 1965."

* * * * *

"I am employed in the Courthouse, Selma, Dallas

County, Alabama, with an office on the third floor. I have witnessed the demonstrations in and about the Courthouse, since their beginning, both from my office windows and going in and out of the Courthouse. I have seen young Negro men and young white women walking down the street holding hands or with their arms around each other's waists. I have also seen young white men and young Negro women doing the same thing and I also saw on one occasion, a white man with both arms around a Negro embracing her, hugging and caressing her bosom, and all this in full view of anyone and everyone who might chance to look their way."

* * * * *

"On March 12, 1965, I was working the night shift and was stationed on Sylvan Street near Brown's Chapel. I saw white girls and Negro boys, and white boys and Negro girls pair off and go into the dark areas of Brown's Chapel. They would disappear in the dark areas for as long as 45 minutes at a time. I do not know for sure what they were doing but I did see these couples with their arms around each other and kissing."

* * * * *

"I saw at the camp site of the Selma-to-Montgomery marches, a young white girl and a colored man having sex relations. They were on the ground out in the open and did not try in any way to hide as I walked within six or eight feet of them.

"There were many colored girls and white boys lying in the same sleeping bags. I also saw a white girl about 17 years old and 4 colored boys get into the back of a truck and close the doors. This was before dark on the 23rd day of March, 1965. They were in the truck about 45 minutes and when they opened the door to get out the girl was dressing."

* * * * *

In order to understand how these people and this kind of behavior have any part in a movement that many people believe is highly motivated, you have to understand something about the people who lead and direct the civil rights organizations who sponsor the demonstrations. You must understand, as I do from months of direct contact and personal association with these people, that there is a vast difference between their high-minded utterances for public consumption and the things they talk about in the privacy of their hotel rooms. There is no similarity between their public images as portrayed by our national news media and their true characters.

Martin Luther King has associated intimately for years with Bayard Rustin, a confirmed homosexual who has been jailed several times, and a man whose life's effort has been devoted to persuading and instructing the youth of our nation to avoid military service.

Ralph Abernathy was involved in an unwholesome law suit in Montgomery a few years ago in which was revealed that he had seduced a fifteen-year-old member of his church congregation. Abernathy continued his attentions to this girl even after she was married and over her protests. The affair wound up with the girl's husband chasing him down Dexter Avenue in Montgomery in the middle of the day with an axe in his hand. James Forman, executive director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, turned his headquarters in Montgomery into a veritable brothel where he openly participated in sex activity himself with a "red-haired white girl."

Make no mistake about it, sex and civil rights go together— in the most licentious ways possible to imagine. And it is not an incidental by-product of a movement involving youthful protestors against a society with which they find difficulty identifying. Apologists for the bearded, and the beatnik, and the blue-jeaned babes would have us believe they are just lost sheep who will eventually find themselves. This may be an easy explanation for

those who don't have to have anything to do with this growing rabble. To me it spells out the deterioration of the moral fiber of at least a large part of the young people of our nation. Because my official duties have made it necessary for me to come into close contact with this element, it has also become clear to me that their participation and identification with civil rights activities is deliberate, by design, and desired by civil rights leadership. Let's put it this way, if Martin Luther King has the influence and control he is alleged to have, and if Martin Luther King did not want this riffraff, it is reasonable to assume he could eliminate them.

Sex and civil rights go together. The best example I know of to demonstrate this fact is in the testimony of a Negro girl who was brought to my office one day in October, 1965, by her mother. Because of her age I have deleted the girl's name. Otherwise, I think this affidavit will speak for itself better than anything I could say on the subject. This statement was taken by Captain G.A. Stoves and witnessed by Deputy Sheriff Doyle Wright at the County Jail of Dallas County on October 28, 1965.

Q What is your full name?

A _____

Q Where do you live?

A _____

Q _____, that's in Selma, Alabama?

A Yes, sir.

Q Now, I believe you said a little while ago that you had had intercourse with several persons here, and I wonder if you could name these persons who you had intercourse with?

A Sammy Gayle, Willie Cheese, D.C. Allen, Theopus Bailey, James Webb, Charles Morgan, George Morgan, Jr., Sylvester Marose, Sylvester Smith, James Lundy, James Coleman, Leon Winfield, J.C. Pickett, and Sonny Hatcher.

Q And you've had intercourse with all these men?

A Yes, sir.

Q And I believe you said that you got pregnant by one of them. Which one was that?

A Sonny Hatcher.

Q That's Sonny Hatcher?

A Yes, sir.

Q And you had a miscarriage?

A Yes.

Q How many months pregnant were you at the time of the miscarriage?

A Four months.

Q And which one of these individuals, if any of them, work with SNICK or the S.C.L.C.?

A Lots of them out of the group work with the SNICK and one of them out of the group works with S.C.L.C.

Q And which one of them is that?

A James Lundy is with the S.C.L.C.

Q Bailey, George Morgan, Jr., Sylvester Marose, James Coleman, J.C. Pickett - all are with SNICK.

Is that right?

A Yes, sir.

Q To your knowledge, are these people paid by these various organizations?

A Yes, sir.

Q About how much do they make a week?

A \$75.00.

Q Which one of these organizations did you work for?

A S.C.L.C.

Q And how much did they pay you a week?

A \$50.00.

Q You made \$50.00 a week?

A Yes, sir.

Q Were you on the march from Selma to Montgomery?

A Yes, sir.

Q What did you all do during the night at these various camp sites that you stopped at during the night?

A Nothing.

Q You didn't do anything. To your knowledge, was there any lovemaking or anything of that nature that went on?

A No, sir.

- Q And all of these people that you have named, you have had intercourse with them before the march or after the march?
- A After the march.
- Q Oh, after the march to Montgomery?
- A Yes sir.
- Q What is your age, _____?
- A 12.
- Q What year were you born in?
- A 1953.
- Q Now, does this lovemaking, intercourse, or whatever you want to call it, does it go on quite frequently with the civil rights workers?
- A I don't think so.
- Q Do you know of any occasion that they have occasion to have intercourse with one another?
- A I really don't know.
- Q Have you ever been out with one of the white civil rights workers?
- A I think I have.
- Q Do you know him by name?
- A Smith.
- Q What's his full name?
- A Billy Smith.
- Q Where did you all go?
- A Over to the Shack.
- Q Have you ever had intercourse with him?
- A No, sir.
- Q I believe you told me a little while ago that from time to time that these SNICK workers or these S.C.L.C. workers did get together and have lovemaking. Isn't that right?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q What would they do: have a party, or how would they go about it?
- A Some of them would have a birthday and they would have a birthday party and stay up all the rest of the night.
- Q They would just stay with each other the rest of the

night?

A Yes, sir.

Q Does that happen pretty often?

A Mostly whenever one of the persons would have a birthday.

Q Is there a lot of drinking in the organization?

A No, sir.

Q What grade in school were you?

A Sixth.

Q Did you quit school?

A Yes.

Q For what reason did you quit?

A So I could join the organization.

Q Which organization are you talking about?

A Student Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee.

Q Student Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee?

A Yes.

Q And you quit school to join them, to help them in their work?

A Yes.

Q Didn't they—didn't anybody say anything to you about going back to school instead of hiring you to work?

A Yes; they tried to get me back to school.

Q But still they kept on paying you and you went right on and worked, didn't you?

A No; I just worked of a evening-time and on Saturdays.

Q What kind of work did you do?

A I passed out papers and we asked students to come to mass meetings and stuff like that.

Q Did you attend all the mass meetings?

A All the mass meetings until these lately.

Q Are there very many SNICK workers or S.C.L.C. workers in your age group that are employed by them now?

A I think there is.

Q Are these younger people your age or possibly younger? Have they had intercourse with any of the people?

A I really don't know.

Q You don't know?

A No, sir.

Q Well, do you think maybe they do?

A They might; some of them might.

Q Well, you stated a minute ago that you knew a couple — have they had intercourse with any of these people?

A Yes.

Q _____, where did you all go when you had intercourse with most of these people?

A Pats Motel and Torch Motel.

Q Did you all register down at the motel?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what names you registered under — did you register as man and wife or what?

A He registered by himself.

Q That was the Pats Motel and the Torch Motel?

A Yes.

Q That goes on quite a bit down there, doesn't it?

A Yes.

Q You stated earlier that you were on this march to Montgomery, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Did you spend the first night — the first night that they camped out, were you there that night?

A No, sir.

Q You came back to Selma that night?

A Yes, sir.

Q Did you spend the rest of the nights, the other several nights out there on these camps?

A No; I missed several nights. I stayed out there two nights.

Q You spent two nights out there?

A Yes, sir.

Q Did you see any intercourse going on by anybody on either of those nights that you stayed out there?

A I saw some, but they would usually tell you when they were going to do it and I would just move back out of the way. I wasn't going with anybody at that time.

Q You didn't go with anybody at that time, and I believe

you said that they would tell you what they were going to do and you would get out of the way?

A Yes.

Q What about white boys and colored girls — did you see any of them sleeping together?

A Yes.

Q What about white boys and colored girls — did you see any of them sleeping together?

A Yes.

Q And that was on the last two nights of the march, I believe you said?

A Yes.

Q _____, was there any beer or whisky drinking during this march?

A Yes.

Q Was it drunk by these demonstrators, the ones that were on the march?

A Were they drunk?

Q No; I didn't ask if they were drunk, but was there a lot of drinking among these SNICK workers or the S.C.L.C. that were on this march?

A Yes.

Q Did you see any drunkenness on the march?

A No.

Q You didn't see anybody drunk?

A No; if they were drunk, I didn't know it.

Q To the best of your knowledge, did any of the participants in the march, did any of them take any form of dope, or anything like that?

A Yeah; some of them did.

Q Do you know what kind it was?

A No; I don't know what kind it was.

Q Were they taking some kind of pills or what?

A These were pills.

Q These SNICK or S.C.L.C. workers, did they take this stuff quite often?

A I really don't know.

Q But have you seen them take it on occasion?

A Yes, sir.

- Q When they have these parties that you spoke of earlier, birthday parties or whatnot, is there any drinking or dope-taking during these parties?
- A I really don't know, but I know about the drinking, they do drink on these parties.
- Q And you did state earlier that you did actually yourself see the people that were in the march having intercourse the last two nights of the march?
- A Yes.
- Q About when was the first time you had intercourse?
- A About in March
- Q That was in March of this year, 1965?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Who was the first one that you had intercourse with?
- A D.C. Allen.
- Q Where does D.C. Allen live, _____?
- A On Purham.
- Q He lives on Purham Street?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Who was the second one that you had intercourse with?
- A The second time I was raped by James Coleman, James Webb and Willie Cheese.
- Q Those three raped you?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Where did that happen?
- A Over near Clark School.
- Q How did they go about raping you, _____?
- A One of the guys would take you somewhere and then he would call the rest of the guys in, and the rest of the guys were waiting on him.
- Q Did they hold you down?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q All three of them?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q And they held you down while each one of them had intercourse with you?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Do you know what intercourse means?
- A Yes, sir.

- Q Tell me what it means in your own words.
- A Intercourse means when you have sexual intercourse.
- Q Now, I believe you stated to me, _____, that you had gone to the Pats Motel and also to the Torch Motel on several occasions. Who was the first one that you went to a motel with?
- A James Webb.
- Q James Webb. Did he register in the motel or how did you get in there?
- A He was staying there.
- Q He was living at the motel, now which one was he living at?
- A At the Torch.
- Q He was living at the Torch Motel. Now I want you to tell me in your own words, if you will, from the time you went in the room, how about telling me just what happened there, using language that you will understand and that I'll understand?
- A We had sexual intercourse and then I turned my back to him and he turned his back to me and we dressed.
- Q Well, let me ask this: when you went in the motel room, what did you do first, did you take your clothes off?
- A I always take my gown with me and I went in the bathroom and put it on.
- Q You went in the bathroom and put your nightgown on, and then you got in bed?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q What did James do?
- A Well, he had his own clothes there and he put his pajamas on and got in bed beside me.
- Q What happened then?
- A We laid there and talked for a while and then we had sexual intercourse and then we went to sleep.
- Q Who was the next one that you went to the motel with?
- A Will Rogers.
- Q Who was that?
- A Will Rogers.
- Q I don't believe you've given his name before. What

motel did you go to with him?

A We went to Pats.

Q You went to Pats Motel?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember what room number?

A I think it was 20.

Q Room No. 20. Was Will living there at the time, or did you just rent a room?

A He was living there.

Q Tell me again in your own words what happened when you all went in the motel room.

A As I said, I take my gown and I go to the bathroom and put my gown on and get in the bed and he puts his pajamas on and gets in the bed, and then we have sexual intercourse, and I get up and take a bath and put my clothes on and he takes me home.

Q Did the same thing happen on several occasions?

A Yes, sir.

Q Did most of the time you go to the motel or did you go to somebody's house, or in a car or what?

A Most of the time we go to a motel or to a school house.

Q Where did you and Samuel Gayle have intercourse?

A Samuel Gayle had intercourse with me at Payne's School.

Q That was at Payne's School?

A Yes, sir.

Q Were you all in an automobile or what?

A We weren't in an automobile.

Q Where did you get?

A There's a student walk back there. He didn't put me down; he knocked me down.

Q Well, did he rape you or what?

A I call it rape because he had to beat me first to make me stop hollering—at least he did beat me first to make me stop hollering.

Q And that was Samuel Gayle?

A Yes.

Q Where does Samuel live? Do you know?

A I don't know.

Q Had you ever been with him before?

- A No; I didn't know him.
- Q Have you ever been with him since?
- A No.
- Q Have you ever been with Sam Gayle since that night at the Payne School?
- A No.
- Q Did he ever try to go out with you any?
- A After that he tried to. He offered me \$2.00 to do it again and I told him "no," and he told me that if I told him that again he would slap me through that wall, and I told him that I had to be excused, and I started to the bathroom in the cafe and I turned around and went out the front door and I went to one of my friend's house and I told him: "I'll see you at your house," and then I ran all the way to her house.
- Q And he hasn't bothered you any more?
- A He's said something to me, but he's never tried to do that any more.
- Q Have any of these other men that you have named earlier in this recording — have any of the others forced you to have sexual relations with them?
- A Yes.
- Q Could you name those people?
- A Sylvester Morose, and some more guys — Stan Stallworth, and Take-care — I don't know Take-care's real name, and Willie B. Moon, and Black. I don't know if those were the nicknames or not.
- Q What did they do — did they throw you down and one of them or two of them hold you while the other one raped you?
- A Yes.
- Q What is your date of birth, _____?
- A August 6th.
- Q Of what year?
- A 1953.
- Q You are 13 years old right now?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Did any of these instances where you were raped, or

at least where you had sexual intercourse, did any of these happen before you were 12 years old?

A Yes.

Q Do you know how many or which ones were before you were 12?

A All of them was.

Q All of these occurred before you were 12 years old?

A Every one but Sonny Hatcher.

Q All but Sonny Hatcher?

A Yes, Sonny and Leon Winfield.

Q Did Sonny ever have intercourse with you during the time you were 11 years old?

A No.

Q Sonny and who else did you say?

A Leon Winfield.

Q These two boys, they didn't have intercourse with you before you were 12?

A Yes, sir.

Q _____, do you remember back some time ago, I don't remember the date, where the street was blocked down at Brown's Chapel?

A Yes; I remember.

Q Were you down there at that time?

A Yes.

Q Did you have sexual intercourse down in that area during that time with anyone?

A Not in the street.

Q Where did you go?

A To the project. I drove with my boyfriend to the project.

Q Did you see anyone having sexual intercourse down there in the street or in a tent or something of that nature?

A I never did stay in the street.

Q You never did stay in the street?

A I always slept in the church.

Q Did you see any sexual intercourse going on in the church or around that immediate area?

A They did have some sexual intercourse going on up in the balcony of the church.

Q Up in the balcony of the church, people did have

- sexual intercourse. Do you recall any of the people that did have intercourse up there?
- A I know Theopus Bailey had one up there.
- Q Do you know who he was with?
- A _____, I think.
- Q Did you actually see someone having intercourse there in Brown's Chapel during that time?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q And you know that it happened?
- A Yes, sir.
- Q Did you see at any time anyone having intercourse out in the streets or where they were covered up with a blanket on the outside of a building anywhere?
- A I didn't see anyone except in the church.
- Q Did you see any white boys and colored girls sleeping together during that time?
- A There were some white girls and colored boys sleeping together, but the boys weren't sleeping with the girls.
- Q But you didn't see any intercourse, actually, on the outside in the street or on the grass or the edges or anywhere?
- A No.
- Q Was there any drinking or anything of that nature, or dope-taking during that time that you saw?
- A There probably was some — dope taking, but I don't think there was any drinking.
- Q Did you see anyone taking dope?
- A No; but I know that some of them have to take dope, because they're used to it.
- Q You stated earlier, I believe, when we were talking a little earlier, that on this march to Montgomery that some of the SNCC or SCLC people did take dope. How did you know that was dope, _____?
- A I know that this person was taking dope, because I ordered it for her from the drug store.
- Q Do you know the name of the dope?
- A I know the first letter of it was T, but I don't know what the rest of it was.
- Q Did they have a prescription or did they just go down

there and get it?

A They have a prescription.

Q Do you recall what doctor gave the prescription?

A I don't know.

Q You don't remember the doctor's name?

A No, sir.

Q But you did have a prescription?

A Yes; she did have a prescription.

Q What drug store did you go to to purchase this dope?

A I didn't go to the drug store, I called.

Q Did you have to take a prescription around there to them or something?

A No; I read out the prescription.

Q Oh, you just gave them the number and they prescribed and sent it out?

A Yes.

Q I see. Who was taking all of this dope? I don't image that you can tell me all of them, but can you name me several that do take it?

A Johnny Chestnut, Dianne (voice trails off into silence).

Q Is that Dianne Bevel, is that what you are trying to say?

A No; it is not Dianne Bevel.

Q Can you think of anymore? Does James Webb fool with it any?

A James Webb don't fool with it.

Q Or Richard Boone?

A I don't know about him.

Q Can you remember anyone else?

A Maime Winfield; she takes dope.

Q Maime Winfield -- who is she?

A Leon Winfield's sister.

Q Is she a worker with SNCC?

A Yes; she works with SNCC.

Q Does she work here in Selma, in the Dallas County area?

A She's not working in it now.

Q _____ I'm going to name these individuals that you told me you've had intercourse with, and I want to make sure now that I've got all their right names. You stated that the following individuals, all of these, have

had intercourse with you at one time or another: Samuel Gayle, Willie Cheese, D. C. Allen, Theopus Bailey, James Webb, Charles Morgan, George Morgan, Jr., Sylvester Marose, Sylvester Smith, James Lundy, James Coleman, Leon Winfield, J. C. Pickett, Sonny Hatcher, and Will Rogers. I believe you stated that Leon Winfield and Sonny Hatcher had sexual relations with you after you were 12 years old, and all the others has relations before you were 12 years old. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q That is right?

A Yes.

Q And some of them on more than one occasion. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q You stated earlier, _____, that you knew two young girls about your age that had always been having intercourse — Mary _____, I believe you said was one of them. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And Mary is between 12 and 13 years old. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Did you actually see her having intercourse with someone?

A Yes.

Q And you also named Ann _____ — I believe you said that she was about 12 years old, and she lives at George Washington Carver Homes. Did you see her having intercourse?

A Yes.

Q Do you know any of the boys that she was having intercourse with that you saw?

A No; I don't.

Q You don't remember their names?

A I know one of them, it was William Kennedy.

Q William Kennedy?

A Yes.

Q What is his age? Is he a grown person?

A No; he's about 15 or 16 years old.

- Q And I believe you said Mary _____, she lives on _____ Street and goes to High School?
- A Yes.
- Q Have you ever known _____, if Frederick Reese has ever gone with any of these girls?
- A Is that a colored guy?
- Q He's the one that they accused of stealing some of this money that belonged to SCLC, I believe — he was head of the Dallas County Voter League — have you ever known him to go with any of these young girls?
- A I think he went with one of his students.
- Q Do you recall her name?
- A No.
- Q Do you know of anyone that would recall this girl's name that he did go with?
- A No; I don't.

Rape and statutory rape are criminal offenses in the State of Alabama. Subsequent to the confession of this twelve-year-old child I had the following men arrested. All but one signed statements admitting to the girl's allegations. They were: Leon Winfield; Sylvester Smith; Isaac Hale; Willie Lee Cheese; L.C. Pickett; James E. Coleman; Willie George Morgan; James Alexander; Samuel Gayle, who denied forceable rape but admitted to having had sexual relations with the girl; Tommie Lee Rembert; Sylvester Myer; Moses Sherer; Ceatric Hatcher; James Harrell Lundy. SCLC Field Director James Webb denied having had relations with the girl.

The incidents confessed to here by a child who has had sexual relations with more than fifteen men before she reached the age of twelve are not extraordinary—regardless of the violent protests launched at Alabama Congressman William L. Dickinson when he made charges of widespread immorality during the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. Rather, this confession points up one of the true problems confronting Negroes in their search for social progress.

The mother of this child, who brought her to my

office, is looking for help, not political action. She is not going to get the kind of help she needs from civil rights professionals who encourage a twelve-year-old child to drop out of school and then pay her fifty dollars a week to participate in the kind of activity described here. The girl's mother knows this. I know it. Martin Luther King knows it. But what about the host of churchmen and religious leaders who, in blissful ignorance, lend their voices and their presence in the support of this kind of moral depravity, do they know it? Apparently not, and they don't seem to be willing to learn.

V

Civil Rights And Law

A major theme of civil rights protagonists today endorses the proposition that an individual or individual groups in our society have a justifiable right to break laws and to ignore court orders they consider "morally" wrong. Along with this constant refrain, there seems to go an additional demand that authorities, like me, charged with a duty to enforce the laws, must abrogate their responsibilities whenever they come into conflict with the aims of pressure groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and their various local affiliates. Obviously this cannot be accomplished without a complete breakdown of all law and order.

When you have been involved in these confrontations as long as I have, you begin to understand that the destruction of local authority is actually a major purpose of the leadership of most of the civil rights organizations. Orderly demonstrations to "dramatize" their demands are not considered nearly effective enough. Civil disorder and

violence on a scale beyond the capabilities of local authorities to handle are not only sought, but also planned and implemented to the limit of the abilities of the leaders and field forces of these organizations. What is hoped for in each case is that the federal government will take over and replace local or state government. One may well ask why these militant civil rights organizations should wish to create situations where it becomes necessary for the superior forces of the federal government to take over from local authorities which have far more limited capabilities to maintain law and order. The answer to this question has been many months in coming to me. The implications are disturbing — if not frightening. The federal government appears to have allied itself with civil rights activists, not only as to their aims and aspirations, but also in the planning, organizing and carrying out of campaigns like the one which began in Selma in 1963. That this is true is fully evidenced by the nature of the activities of the United States Department of Justice in Alabama since 1963, and by the constant and immediate removal of legal cases from local courts of long-established and perfectly competent jurisdiction to federal courts. The fact that the Justice Department has entered the field of civil rights activities, not as the guardian of constitutional liberties but as a protagonist for a cause, is further evidenced by the federal government's suits to restrain me, Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod, Circuit Judge James Hare, Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds, and a host of other local authorities, from the performance of our sworn duties. These suits have been based on allegations that, in the performance of our duties, we have used our various offices to "defeat Negroes in Dallas County, Alabama, in their efforts to secure and to exercise their rights under the Civil Rights Act of 1964," and, further, that we sought to obstruct and impede the Government of the United States in enforcing the laws of the United States. These allegations by the Justice Department have been based on arrests I have made; on prosecutions by Circuit Solicitor McLeod of persons brought before the local court on legitimate charges; on decisions

of Probate Judge Reynolds with respect to juveniles brought before his court; on Judge Hare's covening and subsequent remarks to the Dallas County Grand Jury, and on a wide assortment of other allegations — all made, I might add, without any consideration or respect for the true facts.

A typical case, known as the United States versus Blanchard McLeod, et al, provides a detailed illustration, of the approach by the Justice Department to the accomplishment of its job in Selma. A close inspection of these proceedings should help to put Selma in better perspective for the many people who may have become persuaded that some horrible conspiracy was hatched by the authorities of Selma and Dallas County. The facts here suggest that a conspiracy, if any, may have been all on the other side.

In this case of the United States versus Blanchard McLeod, the Justice Department said that McLeod, et al (the "et al" included me) had threatened, intimidated and coerced Negro citizens of voting age of Dallas County for the purpose of interfering with their rights to register to vote. This is how the Justice Department said we accomplished this:

The Justice Department said that Solicitor McLeod and Judge Hare used the Dallas County Grand Jury to harass Negro voter registration leaders of Dallas County and to harass attorneys in the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department on the "purported basis of investigating the role of the Justice Department in fomenting racial unrest in Dallas County." The Justice Department said further that Solicitor McLeod prosecuted Negro voter registration workers whom he knew to be such on charges that he knew, or could have easily determined, to be baseless. It said that Mr. McLeod caused subpoenas to be issued to summon attorneys in the Civil Rights Division to appear before a Dallas County Grand Jury. The government further stated that Sheriff Clark stationed "deputies inside each and every voter registration mass meeting and recorded everything said by the speakers at the meetings." The government also claimed that Sheriff Clark arrested, detained and participated in the setting of unreasonable bail, and participated as

a witness for the State of Alabama in criminal prosecutions of Negro citizens who were engaged in voter registration activities in Dallas County.

What is the truth about all this? The Dallas County Grand Jury did attempt, without success, to summon attorneys of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, but not for purposes of harassment. This particular Grand Jury had received startling evidence that federal troops were planning a military occupation of Selma, apparently on the basis of intelligence information received from the Justice Department of which local Dallas County authorities had no knowledge. The Grand Jury also had information concerning associations of leaders of civil rights activities in Selma with known criminals; and the Grand Jury had information concerning activities of Justice Department attorneys which suggested that these attorneys were acting more in the capacity of advisors and assistants to civil rights leaders than as observers and investigators of complaints for the government. How the appearance of these attorneys before the Grand Jury would have impeded and frustrated "the Government of the United States in the proper enforcement of the laws of the United States" is not clear. At least it is not clear to me, since I have always considered it the duty and responsibility of any citizen to provide any information and assistance requested by a Grand Jury in the pursuance of its legitimate functions.

The government's case as far as Solicitor McLeod and I were concerned was based on the arrests and trials of Bosie Reese, Alexander Brown and Bernard Lafayette, Negroes working in connection with the voter registration drive in Dallas County. The arrests, according to the Justice Department, were made for the purpose of intimidating these Negroes. (The "unreasonable bail" in each case was \$500). Mr. McLeod was supposed to have known that the charges against these men were "baseless" and consequently, his subsequent prosecution was to be construed as "intimidation" — even though as Circuit Solicitor of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Alabama he is charged with the

responsibility to prosecute violators of the laws of Alabama. In making these allegations against Mr. McLeod, the Justice Department seems to have taken a position that it is entirely within Mr. McLeod's discretion, rather than the Court's, to decide if a charge is "baseless" and to decide on the guilt or innocence of an accused. This is an interesting theory but I doubt seriously if any Justice Department Attorney would care to try it out on a federal court.

I am aware that many people in the United States are under an impression that the "Selma story" began only a week or so before the famous march to Montgomery. This, of course, is not so. The history of Selma's current problems goes back several years to a time when Selma became a target for the Justice Department and certain civil rights groups — all apparently working in concert.

In September, 1957, the Congress of the United States enacted into law the Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorizing the Attorney General to bring appropriate actions to protect Negroes against discrimination in the registration and voting processes by state and local officials, and to prevent intimidation for the purpose of interfering with the right of Negroes to register and to vote freely in Federal elections. Such, at least, was the stated purpose of this legislation. On the face of it, to many people, this law would appear to be justified, based on an assumption, of course, that if a law is passed to protect someone from intimidation and discrimination, then, in fact, these conditions must exist. This is a vast oversimplification of the matter, however, and any such conclusions must ignore completely the influences and pressures on legislators brought to bear by an organized propaganda campaign which has as its goal political power rather than social progress. Also ignored completely in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and in all subsequent legislation, were the laws and the Constitution of the State of Alabama and the historical background of political and social structures in Alabama. More important, civil rights legislation has had an effect to discredit and to denigrate the giant strides which have been made by the people of Alabama, alone and unaided,

in raising the social, political, educational and economic level of all her people, black and white, from the depths into which they had been plowed at the turn of this century.

Racial conflict began in Selma when the Dallas County Voters League, an organization of Negroes which was formed to encourage Negroes to register, was taken over by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Early in 1963, SNCC began to send people into Dallas County to organize mass meetings and demonstrations, and to create disturbances and conflicts which were certain to be widely publicized — thereby, hopefully, inspiring federal government intervention. My records for 1963 show that in spite of these efforts, county and city law enforcement agencies were able to maintain order and to prevent any major outbreak of racial violence. Consequently, we were all dumbfounded when we learned — entirely by accident — September, 1963, that the 101st Airborne Division at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, was conducting briefings for a military occupation of the City of Selma. Apparently the Justice Department and the Department of Defense knew something we didn't know. Thereby hangs an amazing story to which I will come in its proper sequence.

My personal confrontations with the Justice Department began to assume real dimensions in October, 1963. On Tuesday, October 15, 1963, Martin Luther King was scheduled to address a mass meeting of Negroes in Selma. King's presence in Selma during this period was always an occasion for potential trouble. It was my practice to patrol highways leading into Selma on those days when King was known to be arriving in town. The purpose of these patrols was to spot out-of-county cars and out-of-state cars that could be bringing potential trouble-makers into the area.

Late in the afternoon on October 15, I was patrolling Highway 22 north of Selma. About eight miles out of Selma, I observed a car driven by a Negro with three other Negroes as passengers. I recognized King in the right front seat. The car was a 1963 four-door blue Chevrolet Impala bearing a license tag with the numbers 3-31463, a Mont-

gomery County tag. A quick check revealed that this tag had been issued to Hertz Rent-A-Car of Montgomery. Further investigation revealed that this car had been rented on September 14 by Kenneth G. McIntyre, a member of the staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. A charge card had been used to rent the car. The code number on the card was 1969-237-007-O-Na. This card had been issued to the Justice Department, Civil Rights Division, Washington, D.C. I followed this car all the way into town and to the church yard where I observed Martin Luther King emerge. Another car, a 1964 Ford, was used to transport King from Selma to Montgomery after the meeting ended. A similar car had been rented from Hertz by Justice Department attorney McIntyre. In fact, it had been rented that very night in Montgomery at 8:55 p.m.

The car used to transport King from Birmingham to Selma had been used for more than a month by various attorneys of the Civil Rights Division — including John Doar, one of the Justice Department's top civil rights attorneys at the time, and today head of the Civil Rights Division. On the day in question, Tuesday, October 15, 1963, the car was in Birmingham in the possession of Thelton Henderson, a Negro Justice Department attorney. It was Henderson who turned the car over to one of King's aides for the trip to Selma.

In spite of the irrefutable evidence in my possession, which had been checked and double-checked, my charges that Justice Department cars were being used to transport King around the state were immediately denied. Edwin Guthman, the department's information officer, said two days later, on October 18, that Thelton Henderson had merely picked King up at the Gaston Motel in Birmingham and driven him to the New Pilgrim Baptist Church. Guthman's exact words were, "Henderson needed to interview King and the only chance he had was in driving him from the motel to the church. King got out of the car at the church and he did not go to Selma in that vehicle. The story to the contrary is absolutely false." Guthman added that the car did not leave Birmingham that night. In substance, the

Justice Department, without making any effort to learn the basis for my accusations, immediately took the position that I was lying — and said so publicly.

Having learned of my charges against the Justice Department, Governor Wallace also commented publicly. On October 18, 1963, William Thetford, Circuit Solicitor for the Fifteenth Judicial Circuit in Montgomery, wrote to U.S. District Attorney Ben Hardeman in Montgomery as follows:

“The Governor of Alabama has charged that the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice has been furnishing transportation for racial agitators in Alabama. This charge has been denied by the Department of Justice.

“While there is no violation of State law involved, I am submitting such evidence as may be available to our November Grand Jury as a matter of public interest. It is our desire to conduct a completely fair and impartial investigation in this matter. Should the Justice Department have witnesses available to testify, I will be glad to bring them before the Grand Jury.”

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division, replied to Thetford's letter on November 4. Marshall said:

“Mr. Hardeman has forwarded to me your letter of October 28, in which you state that you are submitting evidence to the November Grand Jury ‘as a matter of public interest’ relating to charges concerning the use of automobiles rented by Department of Justice lawyers.

“Your letter states that no violation of State law is involved.

“In view of this fact, I see no point in furnishing witnesses to testify in secret proceedings on a matter admittedly beyond the Grand Jury's legitimate enquiry. The facts of the matter have been given to the public through a statement issued by the Department on October 18, 1963.”

The Department's statement referred to by Mr. Marshall was Mr. Guthman's statement issued on October 18

in which he said the story was absolutely false and that Jim Clark was a liar. So, more than two weeks later, having had ample time to check the facts for himself, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall still maintained that the story was false. He makes snide reference to the "secret proceedings" of the Grand Jury as if it were some kind of glorified kangaroo court. Of course, Martin Luther King himself could have cleared up things for the Justice Department at any time — if, in fact, the Justice Department was ever under any real misapprehension as to the truth. Or, are we to assume that both Henderson and King lied to the Justice Department? That somebody was lying is self-evident, and it was not Jim Clark.

On November 4, 1963, the date of Marshall's reply to Solicitor Thetford, the Circuit Court of Dallas County issued subpoenas commanding the appearance before the Dallas County Grand Jury of the following individuals: Burke Marshall, John Doar, Richard Wasserstrom, David H. Marlin, Arvid A. Sather, Kenneth McIntyre and Thelton Henderson, all attorneys with the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. David Marlin was personally served a copy of his subpoena in Selma. The other subpoenas were mailed on November 4 and received in Washington on November 6, 1963. Marlin left town the day after being served in Selma. Thelton Henderson resigned from the Department of Justice November 6, 1963; the Justice Department admitted that Henderson had turned his car over to King for the trip from Birmingham to Selma on Tuesday, October 15, 1963, as had been alleged. Following his resignation from the Justice Department, Thelton Henderson disappeared. Before he left town, according to the Justice Department, he reimbursed the government for the cost of the trip from Birmingham to Selma. This seemed to wipe the slate clean as far as the Justice Department was concerned. No apology was ever offered to me by the Justice Department or Mr. Guthman for having publicly accused me of lying. The general public was left with a vague impression that the Justice Department had been acting in good faith all along and was simply the innocent victim of

an employee who had not told his superiors the truth. This will not wash. There was a possibility that more than one car. and more than one Justice Department attorney was involved.

I had suggested not only that King had been driven from Birmingham to Selma in a 1963 Chevrolet rented by the Justice Department, but also that he may have been driven from Selma to Montgomery in a 1964 Ford rented by Justice Department attorney Kenneth McIntyre at 8:55 p.m. Again King has remained silent. By zeroing-in on Thelton Henderson and the trip from Birmingham to Selma, the Justice Department may have hoped to get themselves and Mr. McIntyre off the hook. Mr. McIntyre is a little vague as to his actions on the night in question. Here is his testimony taken in Washington, D.C. on November 24, 1964 by Mr. Henry Pitts, one of the counsel for me and other defendants in the government's various actions.

Q. Do you remember when Thelton Henderson drove Martin Luther King from Birmingham, Alabama?

A. I can't state of my own knowledge he did. I was not there.

Q. Were you present when Martin Luther King was in Selma?

A. I arrived at Craig Air Force Base (in Selma) on October 15. I understand that is the night he spoke in Selma. I never did go into the town of Selma proper that evening.

Q. You say you arrived in Selma?

A. At Craig Air Force Base.

Q. On October 15?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now was this the day that Martin Luther King was in Selma?

A. I believe it was, as best I recall.

Q. Where did you come from?

A. Montgomery, I had flown in from Washington that evening.

Q. And did you drive to Selma?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this in a rented automobile?

A. Yes, sir.

If Mr. McIntyre's testimony that he did, and he did not, drive to Selma that evening is confusing, it should be explained that Craig Air Force Base is outside Selma in the direction of Montgomery. What Mr. McIntyre is saying is that he rented a car in Montgomery and drove toward Selma as far as Craig Air Force Base, but did not go on into town where King was addressing a mass meeting that night. The real confusion that arises from Mr. McIntyre's testimony lies in the fact that the car he rented in Montgomery from Hertz Rent-A-Car, a 1964 Ford, is exactly the same kind of automobile in which Martin Luther King was transported from Selma to the Montgomery Municipal Airport that same night.

The concern of local officials in Selma over the role Justice Department attorneys were playing in civil rights activities there was not based solely on the fact that Martin Luther King was furnished transportation in government-rented automobiles. Thelton Henderson, we knew, was going far beyond his responsibilities in Birmingham as an observer and investigator of official complaints. In the summer of 1963, a group of young Negro and white men and women formed an organization to engage in civil rights activities and demonstrations in that city. This organization was known as the Birmingham Youth Fellowship Council. The group met once a week at the Smith Building on the corner of 5th Avenue and 17th Street, North. Their purpose was to become identified as a purely local and independent civil rights group — thus avoiding the label of "outside agitators." Actually they were affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and intended to raise money for this organization. Thelton Henderson was a frequent participant at their meetings. He gave counsel and advice concerning their meetings. Among other things, Henderson squired a young white woman around to Negro night clubs in Birmingham. At one time, Henderson is reported to have told this group that he "told the FBI what to do in Birmingham." Henderson's associations and active partici-

pation with this civil rights organization can hardly be covered under a mantle of official duties. The FBI in Birmingham knew of Henderson's activities. Under the circumstances, it is hard for me to believe that Burke Marshall did not also have all the facts — in spite of his public protests to the contrary.

If Thelton Henderson cannot be described as an objective and impartial observer of civil rights agitation in Alabama at the time, neither can some of the other attorneys who were sent here by the Justice Department. David H. Marlin, one of the attorneys who was in and out of Selma over a two-year period, testified in Washington, D.C., in a deposition taken by Mr. Henry Pitts and Judge Hare, that he and his wife were annual contributors to SNCC, to the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, to CORE and to the SCLC. Mr. Marlin readily admitted that his contributions to these organizations evidenced a personal sympathy with their motives and aims. Here is Mr. Marlin's testimony:

Q. Mr. Marlin, are you a member of any organization to promote the integration of the races?

A. Well, I don't think so. I don't know that any organization I belong to has that as a specific goal, no.

Q. In other words, you say you don't know. Well, do you make any contributions to, say, SNCC or CORE or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference?

(Mr. Norman, Mr. Marlin's counsel objected to this question and it was rephrased.)

Q. Have you ever made any contribution to SNCC?

A. Yes.

Q. When was the contribution made?

A. Well, Mr. Pitts, the practice of my wife and myself, if this has any relevance to the case, is to make personal contributions in December of each year, at which time we contribute to various charities and organizations that we wish to, and so I would say my best memory is that any contributions that I have made to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee have been in December, and I have made them every year in December, but I may have for the last two or three years and then again I may not have.

Q. Have you ever made any contributions to NAACP?

A. I know that for the last three or four years I have contributed to the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP.

Q. How about the Southern Christian Leadership Conference?

A. Yes, I think I have at least once contributed money to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Q. How about CORE?

A. I think I have contributed money to CORE as well.

Q. Then you would say by your contributions to these various organizations you are, you might say, in sympathy with their motives?

A. I think that would be a fair statement.

Q. By your contributing to these various organizations which you stated and by your stating that you are in sympathy with their movements, do you feel that you can conduct a fair investigation?

A. Yes.

Q. You do. Have you ever, in Selma, have you ever taken any statements from any white citizens or tried to substantiate your investigations by other disinterested parties, or have you only just taken statements from the members of these organizations?

A. Well, if I could break your question up into parts, I have never in my memory — I have interviewed white persons in Selma. For example, I have talked to Mr. Cappel who is with the Selma Times Journal. Whether or not the Negroes I have talked to belong to these organizations is not a factor in the ones I have interviewed. I might say, Mr. Pitts, that the real determination as to whether or not I can perform my duties that are assigned to me, fairly rests with my superiors.

Q. Mr. Cappel is the only other disinterested party you might say you tried to substantiate this investigation by?

A. Well, the best I can remember, I am not really sure. There may be other white persons that I have talked to. Most of our interviewing, as has already been mentioned, my interviewing has been of Negroes who have applied to register to vote or who had information possibly about intimidation and those are the persons I talked to.

Q. Have you ever gone to any of the defendants in this case and confronted them with these various allegations and asked to obtain a statement from them?

A. I have never been instructed to discuss these matters with them and I have not done so.

What Mr. Marlin says here is that he sympathizes and contributes to organizations whose complaints he has been asked to investigate. He says further that his investigations have carried him no farther than to the complainants themselves — who represent the organizations with which he is in sympathy and to which he makes financial contributions. In spite of this, Mr. Marlin says he believes he can make an impartial and fair investigation.

How could he? I know I couldn't, and I don't believe anyone could. Mr. Marlin and the other investigators and representatives of the Justice Department who were in Selma are apparently incapable of understanding that when they confine their inquiries exclusively to one element of a conflict, they are not going to discover the true dimensions and the whole anatomy of that conflict. Most jurists who had made a statement like the one attributed here to Mr. Marlin would immediately disqualify themselves from sitting in judgment on any case in which they could so clearly identify their personal sympathies and active support. Mr. Marlin's testimony indicates to me that he came to Selma to render a preconceived judgment rather than to conduct an investigation.

Other Justice Department representatives have demonstrated similar prejudices. It was not, therefore, to harass nor to interfere with the Justice Department in enforcing the laws of the United States that they were summoned to appear before the Dallas County Grand Jury. It was to get information from them, which we did not have, to assist us in maintaining order, to assist us in preventing possible outbreaks of violence, and to assist us in protecting the persons and property in our community.

It was not alone the obvious prejudices of the Justice Department attorneys, nor the riding around in government-rented cars by civil rights workers, that caused us the

most concern, however. We were having our troubles, to be sure, but in September, 1963, nothing had occurred, or seemed likely to develop, that we could not handle. But it seems that there were things in store for Selma of which we had not knowledge, and which we discovered quite by accident.

Judge James Hare was at his home on the evening of September 24, 1963, when his telephone rang. When the Judge answered, a person on the other end of the line, who did not identify himself, told him that he had called to tell the Judge that a vicious criminal had been released that day from prison in Illinois and was on his way to Selma to "turn the city up-side-down." The informant told the Judge that this person was a gunman and a "mainliner"— although he said that he didn't know the man's name. "Kook" calls were an almost daily occurrence during this period, and although Judge Hare passed the story on to me, neither of us credited it with any substance. Looking back, I wish I had paid more attention.

With time, law enforcement officers develop a peculiar sensitivity to the criminal element of our society. Just as the hardened criminal can "smell a cop a mile away" so, too, can the experienced law officer recognize almost intuitively a person who appears to be deserving of his professional attentions. In a crowd at a mass meeting at a church on Sylvan Street, September 27, 1963, I spotted a Negro who was dressed in what looked to me like a "go free suit" — that is, the kind of suit of clothes that prisoners are issued on their release from prison. At the time, he was in company with Justice Department attorney Thelton Henderson, SNCC Director James Forman, comedian Dick Gregory's wife and a local civil rights worker, L.L. Anderson. In fact, I first saw this man in the same car that later was used to bring Martin Luther King from Birmingham to Selma. I had not seen this man around town previously. My deputies and I kept him under surveillance for a couple of days. He seemed to occupy a position of leadership. He conducted at least one mass meeting. A few days after I had first spotted him I picked

this man up on a local charge. He gave his name as Wolf Dawson. A few hours later the county jailer, who also recognizes a potentially good "client" when he sees one, called me, and said that Dawson seemed like a pretty tough customer, and that he thought I should run a check on him. This I did. When the report came back from the FBI it showed that Wolf Dawson, alias Frank Dawson, alias Curtis Hampton, had a record as long as my arm. Dawson's criminal activities dated back over a period of ten years and included some 30 criminal convictions for everything from grand larceny to narcotics. The most interesting bit of information contained in the FBI report was that Wolf Dawson had been released from the Illinois House of Corrections on September 24 — the day Judge Hare received the call from the anonymous informant. Unfortunately by the time this record had been forwarded to me in Selma Wolf Dawson had been released from jail and had left town for good. No doubt Dawson was well aware that when his record became available in Selma, any plans he may have had would be down the drain. Today, Dawson is back in prison in Illinois doing six years on a narcotics conviction.

Another thing the Dallas County Grand Jury wanted to talk to Thelton Henderson and the other attorneys about was Wolf Dawson.

I received one more amazing tip during the last week in September, 1963. It was an astonishing story to the effect that the 101st Airborne Division at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, was conducting briefings for an investiture of the City of Selma. The source of information was completely reliable. We learned that units of the 101st Airborne Division were being briefed secretly (making use of large "blow-ups" of Selma maps) for an operation that was to take place when an already anticipated condition of disorder and violence developed in Selma which was beyond the capacity of local authority to handle. At the time, there was nothing happening in Selma which would indicate a present or future requirement for a military occupation by a division of federal troops. A few discreet

inquiries at higher levels in government produced nothing. At first we were simply non-plussed. However, when the Wolf Dawson incident developed fully, and it became apparent that Judge Hare's informant knew what he had been talking about, we began to put two and two together. Was the violence and disorder predicted by the Judge's caller to have been created by Dawson? It would seem so, for he met the description exactly. Was the violence and disorder for which the 101st Airborne was preparing that for which Dawson come so quickly from prison in Illinois to Selma? Who had paid his fare? What was his connection with Justice Department attorney Thelton Henderson, and James Forman, head of SNCC, one of the most militant of civil rights organizations? The Dallas County Grand Jury thought they should get some of the answers to these questions. Their interest was legitimate.

On October 3, an ex-GI called me in a great excitement. "Sheriff, General Eschenburg is in town with Lt. Colonel Miller and Lt. Colonel Jones. I was in the Army with the General. I would know him anywhere, any place, in any kind of clothes. He is in civilian clothes."

This seemed to confirm our tip from Ft. Campbell about the plans of the 101st Airborne Division for Selma.

The mission of General Eschenburg and his staff in Selma was secret. They were in civilian clothes. They came into town from Craig Air Force Base in an unmarked car. General Eschenburg, on a mission which involved the future protection of Selma from racial violence and civil disorder, contacted no local authorities. He asked for no information or assistance, and he offered none. Whatever were the terrible things that may have been in store for the City of Selma, only the Defense Department and the Justice Department knew — and, no doubt, the hierarchy of the civil rights organizations knew too.

It was in an effort to get to the bottom of this thing that the Dallas County Grand Jury attempted to subpoena witnesses and records from the Justice Department. The Justice Department offered no cooperation. Indeed, it did all in its power to thwart the Grand Jury's investigation.

With respect to the planned military occupation of Selma, Assistant Secretary of Defense Solis Horwitz made this sworn statement:

"The undersigned has caused a thorough search to be made of the written records of the office of the Secretary of Defense and of all components of the Department of Defense, including the Department of the Army, which said search revealed no written report to the Department of Defense, or to any of its components, from the Department of Justice prior to October 3, 1963, concerning possible civil disturbances in Selma, or the need for any Army reconnaissance thereat; nor any record of a written report from the Department of Defense, or any of its components, to the Department of Justice concerning an Army reconnaissance of Selma, Alabama, on October 3, 1963; nor any written report or record which relates to a report made by Brigadier General Eschenburg, or by the officers who accompanied him, with respect to their October 3, 1963, visit to Selma, Alabama; and the undersigned therefore concludes that no such reports were received or made by the Department of Defense or by any of its components."

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall also made an affidavit to the same effect — that is, that he had caused a search to be made of Justice Department files and could find no written records relating to the subject of a military reconnaissance or the planned military occupation of Selma.

It must be assumed that these gentlemen are telling the truth—that there were no written records in either the Department of Defense or in the Department of Justice concerning this matter. The fact is, then, that someone in a responsible position in Washington issued verbal orders, based on verbal information, which alerted the 101st Airborne Division and sent General Eschenburg and his staff to Selma to reconnoiter. There is no question concerning the facts. Congressman Armistead Selden received a letter from the Department of the Army in response to an inquiry of his own. The War Department officer who wrote the letter, which was dated March 2, 1964, is Brigadier General

F.W. Boye, Jr., Deputy Chief of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Army. Possibly General Boye should have checked a little farther up the line before replying to Congressman Selden. At any rate, here is what he wrote:

"This is in reply to your inquiry of factual data concerning activity in the Selma, Alabama area in 1963. A copy of your questions is attached for ready reference and answers thereto appear chronologically below:

1. The Army and Air Force have no knowledge of any aerial photographic reconnaissance being conducted of Selma, Alabama in the spring or summer of 1963.

2. There was no briefing of the 101st Airborne Division near Frankfort, Kentucky, with respect to an anticipated air drop of paratroopers in the Selma area.

3. Brigadier General Eschenburg, Lieutenant Colonel Miller, and Lieutenant Colonel Jones, all of the 101st Airborne Division, did visit Selma, Alabama on the 3rd day of October, 1963. The visit was made under authority emanating from the Department of the Army, where information had been received indicating that a civil disturbance beyond the capacity of local authority to handle was a possibility in the Selma area. The Department of the Army issued instructions which resulted in the 101st Airborne Division being directed to develop a contingency plan for assistance should such aid be directed. As is customary and prudent in such contingency planning, discreet, limited reconnaissance was authorized by the Department of the Army.

5. A report was made by the team of officers to the Commanding General, 101st Airborne Division, covering the facilities at Craig Air Force Base and the geographical relationship of Craig Air Force Base to Selma. No report was made to the Secretary of Defense."

General Boye says the Department of the Army, a "component" of the Department of Defense, did receive information about possible civil disturbances in Selma, and did order a reconnaissance of Selma to develop a contingency plan to lend assistance to local authorities if things got out of hand. General Boye does not say where his Department got the information about civil disturbances

in Selma, and Assistant Secretary of Defense Horwitz only says that no written records exist in the files of the Department of Defense or any of its "components" — e.g., the Department of the Army. General Boye says that General Eschenburg made a report to the Commanding General of the 101st Airborne, but not to the Secretary of Defense. Apparently the Commanding General of the 101st Airborne Division did not even report back to the Department of the Army, which ordered the operation in the first place, because Assistant Secretary Horwitz says there are no written records of any kind relating to this subject in the Department of Defense or any of its components.

In paragraph "2" of his letter to Congressman Selden, General Boye says, "There was no briefing of the 101st Airborne Division near Frankfort, Kentucky, with respect to an anticipated air drop of paratroopers in the Selma area." Maybe not. But there was a briefing with respect to an anticipated arrival in Selma by airlift into Craig Air Force Base and/or by truck into Selma.

All of this seems to spell out very clearly the desire of the Justice Department and the Defense Department to deceive the people of Selma and to withhold information from local government authorities in a matter of critical importance and concern to that community. The effort to cover this deceit with charges and allegations that officials of Selma and Dallas County, in their efforts to learn the truth about these matters, were simply using their offices to obstruct "the enforcement of the laws of the United States" is unmitigated hypocrisy.

The tragic event that brought all civil rights activity in Selma to a temporary halt was the assassination of President Kennedy. It did not get underway again until July, 1964. Then it continued unabated until March, 1965, when Selma was invaded by thousands of priests, politicians and beatniks for the famous march on Montgomery.

I feel certain that the impression held by many people throughout the country, who have followed events in Selma for the past two or three years, must be that the forces of the federal government are arraigned there against

an intractable foe in the persons of Sheriff Jim Clark and other officials of Selma and Dallas County. To a large extent, this is the construction of a sizeable segment of our national press. From what I have said here, however, I think it must be obvious that I, on the other hand, have good reason to believe that the federal government, at least in so far as it has been represented by members of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, has been one of the chief obstacles to the performance of my responsibilities as Sheriff of Dallas County. I believe my associates in county and city government here share my feelings. Most of us have been hauled into federal court several times by the Department of Justice and by complainants among the civil rights organizations — who otherwise endorse and practice a complete contempt for laws and court orders that interfere with their own personal ambitions. In most of these cases, the complaints, the legal actions themselves, have been widely publicized. I am not aware, however, that the ultimate decisions in these cases receive much attention. This suggests to me that the news media are more fascinated by what is alleged to be true about me than what actually is true. The opinion of the Federal Judge who has heard all the testimony and viewed all the facts in these matters is perhaps more relevant. I believe the opinion of Daniel H. Thomas, Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Alabama, before whom was brought the complaint of the U.S. Government against Dallas County, et al, and the complaint of the U.S. Government against Blanchard McLeod, et al, will be edifying to many people who have not been given the opportunity to view the problems of Dallas County and Selma in a proper perspective.

Here is what Judge Thomas said in an opinion rendered at the conclusion of the trial in the case of the United States versus Dallas County, Sheriff Clark and Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod.

“The Government bases its request for an injunction on five allegedly wrongful acts committed by the defendants and/or their agents. These five acts are as follows:

"1. Attendance of the Sheriff and the Prosecuting Attorney and their agents at a mass meeting held in Selma on May 14, 1963.

"2. The same acts at a mass meeting held in Selma, June 17, 1963.

"3. The arrest by Sheriff Clark of Bosie Reese on the afternoon of June 17, 1963.

"4. The arrest of Bernard Lafayette on June 18, 1963.

"5. The arrest of Alexander L. Love, alias Brown, on July 22, 1963.

"As to the mass meeting on May 14, 1963, the Sheriff and others testified that there was a general feeling of unrest in Selma about that time; and learning of the proposed mass meeting, he felt it his duty as principal law enforcement officer of the county to be in attendance at the meeting. He and some of his deputies accordingly attended the meeting. No arrests were made, no demonstrations took place, several cars containing white men and bearing license tags from counties other than Dallas were turned away from the immediate vicinity of the meeting.

"As to the mass meeting of June 17, 1963, the Sheriff's participation was substantially the same as that of the meeting of May 14, 1963.

"The evaluation of a set of facts by one individual might not comport with the evaluation of the same facts made by another. The correct evaluation may best be made by one who has lived in and is familiar with the environment wherein the evaluation is to be made. The proper evaluation of a situation involving the clash of divergent ideas in the process of being resolved according to relatively recent judicial pronouncements necessitates sound, thorough and temperate thinking. In order to evaluate properly Sheriff Clark's action, some knowledge of the problems with which he was confronted is necessary. Dallas County is a rural county in southwest Alabama; and as shown by the complaint, its population is almost evenly divided between white and colored, there being few more colored than white.

"Unfortunately, for a number of months there has been much social unrest in Alabama, and, indeed, in the

entire United States. Situations have developed in all sections of the country which have required thoughtful handling, else chaos would have broken out. Indeed, in many instances, due to improper handling, chaos has been the unhappy result. Had Sheriff Clark not taken cognizance of advance information as to the holding of these meetings, he would have been derelict in his duty. Having had notice of the meetings, if his office had not been represented at these meetings, he would have been even more derelict. As is shown by much of the testimony, many of those in attendance felt that the presence of the sheriff and his deputies was conducive to good order. It will never be known, as some things (especially what might have happened) are incapable of absolute proof, but the Court is of the opinion that the re-routing by the sheriff of the out-of-county cars away from the vicinity of these meetings was perhaps the difference between order and disorder.

"As to the arrest of Bosie Reese on the afternoon of June 17, 1963, there was testimony that a number of people were in line in the hall of the Dallas County Courthouse, waiting to register to vote. Reese was in close proximity to the voter registration line, having with him a note pad and camera. His purpose in being there was to obtain the names and addresses of Negroes who registered, and to take pictures of such persons. In order to obtain such information, he approached the individuals in line, requesting their names and addresses. Some furnished this information, and there was testimony that some emphatically refused.

"Sheriff Clark, in his capacity as Sheriff of Dallas County, is charged with maintaining order in the Dallas County Courthouse, as well as throughout Dallas County generally. At various times during the course of any year there are lines of people in the hall of the courthouse for various purposes, such as lines formed to purchase automobile tags. Since control of these various lines and the maintenance of order fall within the responsibility of the sheriff, certainly it is within his discretion

to devise methods and establish rules, within reasonable limits, of executing his duty...and an unwritten rule has been made that no person will be allowed to molest any line within the courthouse. This has been a rule of long standing and there can certainly be no serious contention that such rule should have been in writing and posted.

"Reese was in fact molesting the voter registration line in that he was requesting information of persons therein, some of whom refused to divulge such information. Sheriff Clark, well within the authority conferred upon him as sheriff, informed Reese that he was loitering and would have to leave, and ordered him to do so. Reese apparently left; but very shortly thereafter, he was again seen by Sheriff Clark in the hall of the courthouse. Reese was charged with and tried on charges of resisting a lawful arrest and for conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace in the hallway of the Dallas County Courthouse. There is a presumption that Reese was afforded a fair trial in the Dallas County Court and that the evidence warranted the aforesaid arrest and subsequent conviction.

"As to the arrest of Bernard Lafayette, Jr., he was arrested on the afternoon of June 18, 1963, on a warrant issued on the affidavit of Sheriff Clark, charging the offense of vagrancy. Subsequent to Lafayette's arrest, and before trial, inquiries of Sheriff Clark failed to produce any evidence that Lafayette was gainfully employed.

"Lafayette was tried on the charge of vagrancy, June 20, 1963, in the Dallas County Court. The prosecution, in the opinion of the trial court, made out a prima facie case of vagrancy, which was then averted by the defendant on showing that Lafayette was in fact gainfully employed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Blanchard McCleod, prosecutor, a defendant in the instant case, agreed with the Court that the defendant Lafayette had averted the state's prima facie case. Lafayette was found not guilty.

"As to the arrest of Love, alias Brown, the testimony of both Sheriff Clark and Love shows that Love was

arrested while driving an automobile with one headlight, and at the time of said arrest had a driver's license in the name of Alexander Love, while at the same time he was going under the name of Alexander Brown, and in fact when asked by the Sheriff at the time of the arrest, gave his name as Brown. Sheriff Clark testified that he did not know the identity of the driver of the automobile at the time he was stopped.

"I have carefully examined and considered all the evidence introduced in this case, and am firmly of the opinion that no federal constitutional rights of those for whom the plaintiff sues have been violated in any way by the alleged actions of any one or all of the defendants.

"As stated by Judge Grooms in the case of Perry vs. Folsom, 'The United States is sovereign in its sphere and the states are likewise sovereign in their spheres. Encroachments one upon the other should be studiously avoided and can but lead to unseemly disputes. If the federal courts attempt to exercise the sovereignty vested in the states, as plaintiff here seeks, state sovereignty will suffer serious if not fatal impairment. State sovereignty is not a will-of-the-wisp. It is not a mere abstraction, or untested theory. It is tangible, concrete and real. It is a living principle that marked a new concept of government. It is inherent, it is explicit; and it is basic in our legal fabric. It is to be honored by what it has wrought and treasured for what it is. When our fathers founded these states and established this union, it was one of the corner posts in constitutional barriers which they erected to shield their newly won rights from the tyranny of the all-powerful state. No federal court should remove or mar these ancient landmarks 'which they of old times have set in thine inheritance.'

"This court is of the opinion that the plaintiff has failed in its proof and the relief prayed for is therefore denied."

Here, then, is a court, and a federal court, if you please, that, having heard all the testimony and viewed all the evidence presented by the Justice Department to

prove that I and other Dallas County officials were using our offices to thwart Negroes in Dallas County and to frustrate the government, found the allegations to be without foundation.

As to the allegations of the Justice Department concerning the motives and intents of the Dallas County Grand Jury, Judge Thomas said, in a separate opinion, "In its petition for an injunction directed toward the Dallas County Grand Jury phase of the case and those officials responsible for its functioning, it is the contention of the Department of Justice that the time of the attorneys of the Civil Rights Division should not be spent appearing before a state grand jury. This seems to be set out rather succinctly in the affidavit of Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, in charge of the Civil Rights Division. Mr. Marshall's affidavit, attached to the complaint, states '...The diversion of the time and energies of any of these staff attorneys to state grand jury appearances would necessarily interfere with and obstruct the conduct of our overall program for enforcing voting rights....Our time and energies are fully consumed in supervising the complex operations of the division. The diversion of the time and energies of either of us to state grand jury appearances would interfere with and obstruct the operations of the entire Division in enforcing the civil rights statutes of the United States.'

"The Court appreciates the fact that the attorneys of Mr. Marshall's staff are very busy men. The current docket of this Court will attest to that fact. However, there are many individuals equally busy who are called upon to appear and do appear before grand juries. The Court finds no justification for clothing the attorneys of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice with immunity from having to submit to the investigative powers of a duly convened lawful grand jury.

"A witness before a grand jury cannot question what it can investigate or the scope of its inquiry. Any person who is within the jurisdiction of a grand jury, if lawfully summoned, must appear and answer questions asked con-

cerning the truth of the matter under investigation. The competency or the relevancy of their testimony is of no concern to the witness. Of course the Court recognizes the constitutional guarantees against self incrimination.

"It is presumed that an inquiry by a grand jury is carried out in good faith, and that the grand jury will be guided in its acts by court decisions defining its power and authority...As has been pointed out in previous cases, in order to justify an unprecedented interference with usual processes, there should have been the clearest proof that the inquiry was not instituted in good faith or that the object was to use the subpoena for ulterior purposes, rather than to conduct a lawful inquisition.

"As pointed out by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, 'The office of the Grand Jury under our system is an important one, and its ability to function should not be limited by questions of propriety...it being vital that it possess the power to conduct broad investigations fettered only by the requirement that constitutional rights be not infringed.'

"The Court, having heard all the testimony, examined all the evidence, and observed the demeanor of all parties, counsel and witnesses, is of the firm opinion that there has been a complete absence of any showing that the Grand Jury was not acting in good faith when it issued the subpoenas to the attorneys of the Justice Department. There has been no showing that the object was to use the subpoenas for ulterior purposes, rather than to conduct a lawful inquisition."

To me, it is unthinkable that representatives of the judicial arm of the executive branch of our national government should attempt to subvert the law. Yet I can put no other construction on the actions and efforts of the Department of Justice and its attorneys in one confrontation after another, which I have had with these gentlemen over a three-year period of almost continuous conflict. I know that these attorneys have attended law universities just as I have. I know that as students of law they have learned as well, or better than I, that the undergirding foundation of any organized society is a respect

for its customs and compliance with its laws. Law and custom cannot be considered separable—as oil and water. If people are to live together successfully in an organized society, it is necessary that they think and act in accordance with certain arbitrary limits of self-expression that can be permitted.

If people live together successfully, it is because individual behavior becomes measured by what a majority of persons would do in a given situation—taking on, in the end, the quality of what ought to be done. It is from such patterns of human behavior that customs become established; and it is from established customs that most laws evolve. That such established customs and laws may differ from one organized social group to another is not to say that one is any better than the other. Each has evolved naturally and along lines dictated by a concern for the common welfare.

When social conflicts develop within a particular group, they work themselves out, creating new patterns of behavior, establishing other customs and leaving a residue upon the law itself. To attempt to resolve social conflicts by superimposing whole new sets of patterns and customs overnight is as fruitless as trying to build a house upon the shifting sands. In the end, the whole thing will inevitably fall apart.

Viewed in this light, the resentment of the people and the official community in Selma at being denied the privilege and the right to resolve their own social conflicts is in my opinion justified. Viewed in this light, the people who have descended on Selma from all parts of the country, determined to impose their own sets of questionable values on an entire community, are truly and literally “outside agitators.” And when, as it has become evident, these outside agitators are able to enlist the power of the federal government in their cause, the cry “state’s rights” takes on a quality of resistance and revolt—not out of lack of respect for the government of the United States, but out of an instinctive determination to preserve the basic integrity of the community and its people.

When I speak of the resentment of a people, I am not speaking only of white people. The intrusions and presumptions of "outside agitators" is equally resented by our Negro community. No one should fail to understand this. Their lives have been even more disrupted. The pressures imposed on them by purveyors of strife and discord are even greater. Their own hopes are dimmed. Their dreams and aspirations for their children are destroyed by the invective and influence of preachers who use the pulpits of their churches to teach a contempt for the laws and institutions of a government that has carved out of a wilderness the greatest civilization ever to cross the pages of history. Do not believe that it is only local laws, or the laws of the state of Alabama that are held in contempt by these proponents of civil strife. Any laws, local, state or national, that stand in the way of the goals they pursue, are violated and ignored. These are the lessons they teach the Negro children of America.

Martin Luther King himself publicly endorses the flouting of laws which he considers "immoral" or "unjust." Following the incident on the Pettus Bridge in Selma on Sunday, March 7, 1965, civil rights demonstrators were ordered by Federal Judge Frank Johnson not to attempt another march until the Court had had an opportunity to hear testimony from both sides in the controversy. Ignoring this order, on Tuesday, March 9, Martin Luther King personally marched at the head of a demonstration. His announced destination was Montgomery. At the foot of the Pettus Bridge, King was halted by U.S. marshals. Judge Johnson's restraining order was read to him. Then the marshals stepped aside. King led his followers onto the bridge.

No one had come prepared to continue the march on to Montgomery 50 miles away (no bed rolls, women were in high heel shoes, etc.). There seemed to be no purpose for this demonstration other than to openly and publicly defy the law, and the legal order of a federal court. Even the President of the United States had, earlier that same day, made a plea for a temporary halt in the

planned marches. Afterwards I personally filed a petition to have King held in contempt of court. Judge Johnson dismissed this plea, saying that it was a matter between him and King—not me. In this Judge Johnson was no doubt correct. This is too bad. It is one thing for a person of influence and leadership, like King, to preach and perform defiance of the law. It is another thing for him to be able to get away with it.

I can think of no better way to conclude my own, at best, sketchy, comments on "civil rights and law" than with these words of Judge James Hare of Dallas County, and the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Alabama. In his charge to the Dallas County Grand Jury on April 13, 1965, Judge Hare concluded his remarks by saying:

"Gentlemen, we have been brought to as near a state of anarchy as a people can be brought without there being a state of anarchy. It has been done by outside forces. I want to use this occasion to compliment our citizens, white and colored. The white citizens have shown an unbelievable restraint. Less than 5 percent of our Negro citizens have been involved in all these matters. In one of the marches across the bridge, the deputies were there. They made a written report that they recognized a total of seven citizens of Dallas County in that particular march.

"Gentlemen, it is rather fruitless for me to do much speaking. It is fruitless for you. When we look back over the history of this country and we realize the state of national insanity that prevailed during the prohibition era, and when we see the state of national insanity prevailing at the present time, we must realize that we cannot meet today's issues with facts and arguments. In the 1920's, anyone who stood up and argued for a state-controlled liquor store would have been judged non compos. All of this propaganda today is not going to solve any of our problems. It is just one of those times that we have got to live through. It may be pretty tough to live through, until some measure of sanity returns to our national government. But there will come a time when the

American people are going to be willing to search out the facts, to face the facts, and to deal with the facts. Until then it appears that we shall have to face these situations of near anarchy as they spring up from time to time and from place to place with as much balance and perspective as we are able to muster.

"In conclusion, gentlemen, I want to read to you an excerpt from Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States, which pretty well summarizes the matter. Justice Harlan said: 'One of the current notions that holds subtle capacity for serious mischief is a view of the judicial function that seems increasingly coming into vogue. This is that all deficiencies in our society which have failed of correction by other means should find a cure in the courts. Some well-meaning people apparently believe that the judicial, rather than the political, process is more likely to breed better solutions of pressing or thorny problems. This is a compliment to the judiciary, but untrue to democratic principles. A judicial decision which is founded simply on the impulse that something should be done, or which looks no further than to the justice or injustice of a particular case, is not likely to have lasting influence. Our scheme of ordered liberty is based, like the common law, on enlightenment and uniformly applied legal principle, not on ad hoc notions of what is right or wrong in a particular case.' "

Civil Rights And News Media

Civil rights conflicts like those that occurred in Birmingham and in Selma are always thoroughly covered by the nation's press. They are widely publicized. These conflicts are usually presented as a contest between Negroes in the South fighting for civil rights and human liberty against Southern whites who are pictured as determined to deny Negro demands at almost any cost. In Selma, the main issue was said to have been the right to register and to vote. The organized demonstrations there were purported to be for the purpose of "dramatizing" the disenfranchisement of Negroes in Dallas County. Their "demands" were that this condition be eliminated. What the demonstrations produced were situations that often required law enforcement agencies of the city, county and state governments to work around the clock to prevent violence and disorder and to enforce respect and compliance with the law. Mass arrests were made and sometimes it was necessary to use physical force. Such is the essential nature of police work. All police activities were generally interpreted by news media as being

nothing more than a part of deliberate efforts to intimidate Negroes and to defeat their purposes. Even the famous and highly publicized confrontation between state troopers and demonstrators on the Pettus Bridge became, I am sure, in many minds a final, last-ditch stand by white authority to "brutalize" the Negroes and to deny with physical force their right to vote in Dallas County.

If millions of people in the United States today believe this, it is because this is what they have been told, time and time again, by their newspapers, magazines, radio and television. If they believe that Jim Clark is a black-booted, club-swinging, intransigent bully, it is because national news media have pictured him so.

The fact is, I have absolutely nothing to do with voter registration. I couldn't prevent anyone from registering if I wanted to. This activity is regulated by law in the State of Alabama, just as it is in every other state in the Union — and, I might add, the laws here are very little different from those in other states. I should have said they were very little different. Today through the passage of the new voter registration law, practically anyone in Alabama can register to vote. Even if he is unable to read the names on the ballot, he can register and vote.

In my mind, there are several reasons for the kind of image stamped on Selma by stories that have originated here in the last three years. Many representatives of news media have arrived in Selma already conditioned by what they have read. They have expected to find things just as they have been described, and everything they see or hear is interpreted in accordance with these preconceived ideas. Many representatives of news media who come to Selma are not highly qualified. They are neither qualified nor inspired to search out the truth and report the facts. Those who are, usually find their stories re-written by editors back home who also have preconceived ideas of their own which they don't intend to alter. What happens is that people like me and communities like Selma wake up one day to find ourselves defending ourselves against completely phony and deliberately contrived allegations. Short of owning your own wire

service or TV network, there doesn't seem to be any way to defend yourself. Nor does there seem to be any way for the people in this country to become properly informed. I would be lying if I pretended that I did not resent personally the things said about me and the false images that have been created of me and Selma, Alabama. Of far more importance than my own personal feelings, however, is the damaging effect and the dangerous consequences to this nation from the hypocritical and irresponsible journalism that Selma produced. Here are some examples.

TIME magazine said in its edition of February 12, 1965, that applicants for registration in Alabama are given a 20-page test on government. The fact is each of the tests at that time had four questions on government. The applicant selected his test from among 100 different tests by lot — by opening a notebook at random.

NEWSWEEK said in its edition of March 1, 1965, "Nothing so far done has assured qualified Negroes that they may vote now, or that they have any very good prospect of voting in the near future.... Literacy tests applied to Negroes are often so difficult that college professors can't pass them. The tests applied to whites are so simple that any fool can qualify." The facts are that all applicants get the same application form and all draw at random their tests from the notebook containing 100 tests. There are not the implied two sets of tests in Alabama, and to accuse registrars in Alabama of such conduct is to accuse them of an indictable offense under Alabama law.

On NBC's "Today Show" in February, 1965, staff members and members of the audience were given questions to answer, implying that applicants for registration in Alabama had to answer them for a test of knowledge. The truth is that the questions used on the show were those used only as a reading test to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The answers to these questions are right in front of the applicant, and he is told to read the printed excerpts from the U.S. Constitution in order to answer these reading questions.

United Press International sent a story out over its wires about a Negro who had been shot during a "voter regis-

tration" demonstration in Marion, Alabama. UPI said that this Negro was subsequently denied admittance and treatment in a Marion hospital — because he was a Negro. This story was absolutely false. The Negro was not shot during a voter demonstration. The incident occurred at night. The courthouse was closed. He was not "protecting his mother" as reported by UPI. He was shot in self-defense by a State Trooper whom he was attacking. He was not denied admission to the Marion hospital. In fact, he was treated at the Marion hospital and he was then taken to Selma where the require blood plasma was available. The original UPI story was carried under large headlines in newspapers all over the world. UPI's subsequent correction was buried in the back pages of most newspapers that bothered to run the correction.

NEWSWEEK, in its February 8, 1965, edition ran a picture of me struggling with a large Negro woman. The story accompanying the picture says: "...while three deputies helped wrestle her to the ground, Clark scrambled astride her stomach and brought his billy down on her head with a resounding crack." The picture shows me astride the woman's stomach, my hands on a billy club. Two deputies are holding her arms. What actually happened was quite different from what NEWSWEEK described. Annie Lee Cooper was standing in a voter registration line outside the Dallas County Court House. As I walked past her in this line, she suddenly attacked me with a hard blow on the left temple. Then she snatched a club from one of the deputies who was with me. All three of us did wrestle her to the ground — with great difficulty. I attempted to pull the club from her hands. A picture taken seconds earlier than the one published by NEWSWEEK shows very clearly that she is the one with the club, not I. I have a stack of affidavits in my office from witnesses, including Negroes, who saw the whole affair. NEWSWEEK knows that what was published is not true.

Instead of listening exclusively to the leaders and field workers of civil rights organizations who sponsor and mastermind these demonstrations, it seems to me qualified, objective-minded newsmen would explore all possible sources of information on the subject they are dealing with.

If they had done this in Alabama, here are some of the actual facts they would have discovered as easily as I have about voter registration.

1. In 1946, the State Legislature provided two extra registration days per month for all counties at a time when Negro interest was increasing in voting, especially among servicemen returning home.

2. Many local boards began in 1950 to pass special legislation increasing meeting days and providing clerical help in the larger counties. Such action has been on local initiative and not under any federal court orders or threats of such court orders.

3. In 1951, the property alternative as a means of qualifying was removed. This worked in favor of Negroes who as a group owned less property.

4. In 1951, the requirement that a person must have been gainfully employed the greater part of the past year prior to registration was removed. This requirement was considered to be one which worked more in favor of whites than Negroes.

5. In 1953, the cumulative feature of the poll tax was removed. This requirement had been just as much of a bar to women registering as it was to Negroes, but all of the national focus was on its effect on Negro registration.

6. In January, 1964, the Alabama Supreme Court ordered boards to use literacy and citizenship tests for all applicants regardless of a registrar's personal knowledge as to the literacy of the applicant, and prescribed uniform tests and procedures for all. Congress did not do this until July, 1964.

7. In January, 1964, the Alabama Supreme Court ordered forms requiring a record to be kept of all tests so as to permit judicial review. Congress did not do this until July, 1964.

A literacy test as a qualification for voter registration is a requirement not only in Alabama and other Southern states; many states outside the South have this requirement written into their constitutions. The truth is, Alabama has done more between 1952 and the present time to make

changes which serve the interests of the registration of qualified Negroes than any other state could have done — which will come as a surprise to many people in this country who have never been given an opportunity by the national press to review the true facts. Alabama was in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 immediately. No other state could have complied any faster. Boards of registrars were mailed copies of the Civil Rights Act the day it was passed in Congress and, by Monday of the following week, it was being complied with in every detail. I wonder if states like Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York and other states with similar registration requirements complied as quickly?

Heavy Negro registration from 1946 through 1952 and again from 1954 through 1956 resulted in most of the actually qualified and eligible Negroes in Alabama being registered before the 1957 Civil Rights Act. When you hear stories about Negro college professors being turned down in Alabama the implication is usually that they are turned down because they are Negroes. The truth is that many of these college professors and university students are turned down because they do not meet the residence requirements. Often these people have deliberately tried to register in counties other than where they reside so that they will be turned down. If there have been in Dallas County a disproportionately small number of registered Negroes, it is not because they have been deliberately prevented from registering. It can only be for one of four reasons. Either they have not wanted to register, or they have not been qualified to pass the tests required by law, or they have been ineligible because of a criminal conviction, or they have not paid their poll tax as required by law. One of the loudest protestors and most militant leaders of voter registration activities in Dallas County is Amelia Boynton. She is a resident of Dallas County. She is qualified and eligible to vote, and she is, in fact, a registered voter. One would think that if there had been any conspiracy in Dallas County to deny Negroes a right to register, she herself would have been one of the principal victims.

The campaign of Martin Luther King in Alabama has not been in any sense a "right to vote" drive. It has been purely and simply an anti-literacy campaign. King and the Justice Department have found that the "thousands of eligible Negroes being denied the right to vote" do not, in fact, actually exist, and the only way they can make a political showing in Alabama is to force the registration of illiterate Negroes in Alabama by throwing out provisions of the State Constitution. This they have now succeeded in doing. In these efforts they have had the whole-hearted support of large segments of the national press. Furthermore, the press has compounded its indifference to the truth by embellishing stories with sensationalism and unadulterated fiction.

Here is a story published in the Lafayette, Indiana, Journal and Courier which will give you an idea of what I mean. On Thursday, October 17, 1965, this newspaper published a story in which it reported on a meeting of church people to discuss civil rights activities and legislation. One of the speakers was Thomas L. Brown, a SNCC field worker in Selma. Here is the way the Journal and Courier quoted Brown. "Brown, a leader of the Student Non-Violent Committee, told the assembled group that while he was in jail in Selma he existed on a diet of onions and water, bread, grits and biscuits — all eight and nine days old. He must stand trial in a few weeks in Alabama on a charge of unlawful assembly, and, he said, 'I will be convicted and have to go back to jail.'

"In Selma, Alabama, the Negro population is three times greater than the white population (actually they are about equal) Brown said, adding: 'But the police and sheriff of Dallas County all say the Negroes have no rights here.'

"Arrests are made on charges of unlawful assembly, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, provocation, 'any charges they can think of,' Brown said.

"There are 27 girls in jail in Selma who have been there for two months, Brown said. The only water they have is what drips from a leaky pipe in the shower. They get only four hamburgers for all 27 of them. The girls are in jail on a charge of insurrection, on bond of \$43,000 per person. 'The

charge can carry the death penalty,' he said."

How can any responsible newspaper run a story like that? But they do, and because they do, they make it possible for people like Rev. John H. Galbreath to believe almost anything they are told about Selma and her people.

Dr. Galbreath is pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh. He came to Selma for a few days to participate in the Montgomery march. While he was in Selma, Dr. Galbreath limited his contacts almost exclusively to the people who had organized and promoted the demonstration, and to others who had come, as he had, to participate. Dr. Galbreath believed before he left Pittsburgh that he knew what things were like in Selma. The issues to him were clear. As he told his congregation after his return, on Sunday, March 28, 1965, "The issue at stake in Selma was a very clear-cut and simple one. It was the issue of the right for any man to vote regardless of his race." Then Dr. Galbreath told his large congregation in Pittsburgh the following fantastic story. This is a part of his sermon.

"Let me tick off a few of myriad of instances that could be related as to what happens when a people do not have the vote and therefore have no control at all over the law enforcement of their community. Near the spot where the murder took place on Thursday night (the Viola Liuzzo murder), lived a Negro who established a little trucking business. He was quite competent and dependable. He finally built up a fleet of three trucks and was very highly regarded in the white and Negro community. One night as he drove into his driveway a shotgun blast rang out and his head was blown off. There were no charges made. Everyone knew that there had been a white competitor who could not stand this kind of competition. But there was no investigation, no arrest. He was just 'a nigger.' "

Then Dr. Galbreath related this account of an incident he had been persuaded to believe had occurred.

"A Negro was sitting on his front porch when a police officer came up to him and arrested him for speeding. He was taken handcuffed to jail, put into a cell and shot dead in cold

blood. It so happened that the police officer and this Negro were sleeping with the same Negro woman. It was announced that he was killed trying to escape."

And then this one.

"Two children were playing in a stream. They muddied the stream above where some white men were fishing. A police officer came, seized the children and put them in the trunk of his car. When he arrived in town they had suffocated. He threw the bodies on the front porch of their home. There was no investigation, no charges, no arrests."

Dr. Galbreath also told a story about a Negro minister who had been killed and thrown into a swamp.

I have heard and read so many stories like these repeated by Dr. Galbreath that frankly I am only surprised that the police officers who were alleged to have been involved in all these horrors did not include somewhere, by name, Sheriff Jim Clark.

I do not suggest that Dr. Galbreath himself created these horror stories. I am quite certain that he heard them just the way he told them to his congregation. Dr. Galbreath was fed this line from the moment he arrived in Selma. He swallowed it hook, line and sinker. He is an unwitting victim of a press and propaganda campaign that has made it possible for him to believe this kind of stuff. By the time Dr. Galbreath got to Selma I think he would have been disappointed if he had not been told stories like these. Consequently, after only a few days in Selma, Dr. Galbreath was thoroughly prepared to go back to Pittsburgh, stand up in the pulpit of his church and say:

"There is a reign of terror that to us is totally incomprehensible. This sort of terror is totally incomprehensible in a world where we look upon a police officer as a friend. But, if you have no vote, you have no control of the police officers about you.

"The most depraved element of American society is not the Puerto Rican of Harlem, nor the Indian on the reservation, but the Anglo-Saxon 'red-neck' of the backwoods Deep South — the southerner who is aptly characterized as 'red-neck,' indolent, indigent and incestuous. It is from this element

within the Deep South that many of the police officers are taken. And it is with law in the hands of men like this that there is no assurance of freedom or justice for the Negro."

Dr. Galbreath, although he does not mention me by name, obviously includes the Dallas County Sheriff in his remarks. I would have liked an opportunity to talk to Dr. Galbreath and other clergymen when they visited Selma, but obviously they did not think this was either necessary or desirable.

Later on in the same sermon from which I have quoted, Dr. Galbreath gets to the subject of the incident at Pettus Bridge. Here is what he had to say. It is typical of many similar distortions.

"They got out beyond the bridge and there met Jim Clark and his men and the brutality that was to follow. The demonstrators were standing still at twenty-five yards distance from Jim Clark and his troops when Jim Clark ordered the charge. Men with clubs and guns and horses attacked the demonstrators. I know of absolutely no instance where demonstrators attacked the police officers. The nature of demonstration is totally non-violent."

Again Dr. Galbreath apparently believes that what he is saying is true. Dr. Galbreath is extremely gullible and naive. In the first place the demonstrators were not "met by Jim Clark and his troops." Nor did Jim Clark order "the charge." The demonstrators were met by a line of State Troopers. My deputies took no action until they were requested to by State forces.

On Sunday, March 7, 1965, the date of the Pettus Bridge incident, I had been in Washington, D.C. At the time of the attempted march across Pettus Bridge, I had just arrived back in Selma. Contrary to other reports similar to Dr. Galbreath's, I was still wearing a plain business suit. (Hosea Williams, one of the perpetrators of the demonstration, swore under oath in court that I was in uniform.) The whole situation was under the control of the State Troopers acting under orders of Governor Wallace to prevent the demonstrators from proceeding farther out the highway than the end of the bridge. The demonstrators themselves knew of this order.

They had no intention of proceeding on a march to Montgomery at that time. They knew before they started that they would be halted. They knew that they would be requested to turn around and go back to town. They knew that they would refuse this lawful command, and they knew that it would become necessary to enforce the order physically. They not only knew all of this, it is exactly what they wanted.

If Dr. Galbreath had bothered to talk to me while he was in Selma I would have been glad to show him the bricks, broken bottles, sticks and garbage can tops that were hurled out of the mob at the police officers. These people not only refused to obey a lawful command, they resisted vigorously the efforts of law enforcement officers to enforce their commands. I, personally, narrowly escaped a switch blade knife aimed at the middle of my back. As far as I am concerned, we had a riot on our hands the minute it became necessary to forcibly disperse these demonstrators. Selma Public Safety Commissioner Wilson Baker came to me at one point desperately pleading for help when the situation in town looked as if it might get completely out of hand.

Dr. Galbreath takes justifiable pride in his Marine Corps service in World War II. With this kind of military background, Dr. Galbreath knows that the order to stop the demonstration on the Pettus Bridge had to be obeyed by the State Troopers, and should have been obeyed by the demonstrators. If I had had anything to say about it, I would simply have let these people hike on out the highway until blistered feet and aching muscles dissipated the entire effort. I had nothing to say about it and, as I have commented, was not in any way in charge.

Admirers of Martin Luther King, like Dr. Galbreath, who believe in the "non-violent" nature of civil rights demonstrations should read an article King wrote which was published in the "Saturday Review." In this article, King clearly states that he must have violence to keep going. "Long years of experience," says King, "indicate to us that Negroes can achieve our goal when four things occur:

"1. Non-violent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.

"2. Racists resist by unleashing violence against them.

"3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand federal intervention and legislation.

"4. The administration under mass pressure initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation."

By a remarkable piece of mental hocus-pocus, King has here managed to transform the duly constituted authority of the law (at Pettus Bridge in Selma, it was the State Troopers) into "racists" who "resist" him, thus creating the violence on which he admits his movement feeds in order to exert enough pressure on the federal government to produce the particular legislation he wants. In this same article, Martin Luther King repeatedly refers to "confronting injustice" at the bridge, rather than to show any concern for his confrontation with the authority of the federal injunction against the march, which he led.

It is hard for me to believe that newspapers, wire services, national magazines and TV networks with audiences numbering in the tens of millions do not have the sense of responsibility that should go with such enormous power to influence thought and shape public opinion. Nevertheless, this seems to be the case. I cannot deny the evidence of my own senses. The widespread impressions of Selma and the people who live there, particularly of a sheriff whose name is Jim Clark, are entirely the creation of a massive propaganda campaign launched to support the purposes of an organized pressure group whose membership, methods and motives are all equally dishonest. This campaign has been implemented all the way by our national news media.

The principal victims of this campaign are not Jim Clark, the people of Selma and the South, however. The real victims are the American people — including, sadly enough, some ten million Negro Americans whose disillusionment will be complete if the end of the road they are now travelling is finally reached and they come face-to-face with the ugly truth that the phony prophets they have followed have not led them to freedom but back into bondage.

Civil Rights And Communism

I am by no means an expert on communism. As a county sheriff, I have had no problems to deal with involving subversion. My fears for the security of the United States government in its continuing struggle against the forces of an alien and hostile creed are the same as those of any citizen who is aware of the communist conspiracy — with possibly two major qualifications. First, my profession requires that I have some understanding of criminal psychology. I am perhaps, more aware than the average person of the completely conscienceless attributes of the criminal character. In the leadership of the Communist Party, in the Soviet Union and abroad, I recognize the essentially criminal nature of the persons involved. In this respect, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Malenkov, Krushchev and Kosygin are all peas in the same pod. Second, being a police officer, I am completely aware of the utter ruthlessness and dedication on which the criminal can call in the pursuit of his own goals. In my opinion, it makes no more sense for the people of the United States, through their government, to attempt to

"negotiate" the settlement of world conflicts in which we are engaged with the forces of communism than it would have been for the mayor of Chicago to have sat down around a table with Al Capone and his henchmen to discuss a settlement of their difficulties. The criminal in human society must be restrained and controlled by law and by force. This applies equally to the ordinary punk who holds up a service station at the point of a gun; to the gray-flannel mob leader whose organized gangs prey on entire communities; to the international gangster who operates from a base of power in his national government. The criminal, the gangster, does not respect the law — otherwise he would not be a criminal. He respects nothing but force, and he will respond to nothing less. The people who lead and direct the communist conspiracy to chain all the governments and all the people of the world to the hammer and the sickle are criminals in every sense of the word.

Apologists for communist involvement in the civil rights movement like to write it off as purely incidental and minor in scope. People who believe this are either burying their heads in the sand, or else they are deliberately trying to lay a smoke screen.

The affiliations and associations of civil rights organizations and their leadership with communist-dominated activities in the United States are too numerous and extend over too long a period of time to detail here. But anyone who knows that SNCC is largely financed and controlled by the Southern Conference Education Fund, a communist front organization, would have to be blind to believe that SNCC's purpose in Selma was civil rights and social progress. Anyone who knows that Bayard Rustin has been the principal architect of Martin Luther King's whole career must realize that the chief motivating influence in a worldwide movement to instruct and persuade young men to refuse military service to their governments, Bayard Rustin is head of the War Resisters League in the United States, and a director of its parent organization, War Resisters International — both obvious and effective instruments of the communist conspiracy. Three years ago, before SNCC moved

its headquarters to Atlanta, Bayard Rustin and his War Resisters League shared offices in New York with SNCC.

Among the thousands who participated in the demonstrations in Selma and the march to Montgomery were many well-meaning and sincere, if misguided, people. They believed they had come to participate in a crusade for human dignity and "freedom." While they were in Selma, and along the route of march down Highway 80, they rubbed elbows every day with many leaders and promoters of the communist conspiracy in the United States. Bayard Rustin, Abner Berry, Fred Shuttlesworth and Carl Braden were there. What had attracted these people to Selma? Was it "freedom"? Civil rights? Human dignity? Hardly. These are exactly the qualities of human expression that communism suppresses ruthlessly.

One of the principal leaders of civil rights disorders in Selma was Rev. C. T. Vivian. Vivian was on the receiving end of a much publicized punch on the jaw from me. I single out Vivian for particular attention here because he is typical of the type of person who controls and directs civil rights agitation in the South, and because he was responsible for the one and only time I lost my composure during the Selma conflict. I might add that I consider two of the most necessary qualities of a good police officer to be his ability to maintain his composure and exercise restraint in difficult situations. I am compelled to say, therefore, that as the chief law enforcement officer of Dallas County I regret the fact that I struck Vivian. Speaking as a normal human being and a man, I couldn't say the same thing. Here is how it happened.

For several days prior to this incident, Vivian had been using every occasion he could find to revile and insult me — obviously with the purpose to provoke me into arresting him. On the day of the incident involving my striking Vivian, he was outside the Dallas County Court House in a crowd of people we were trying to control and bring into order. Vivian was standing directly in front of me. He began to shout in a loud voice an enumeration of all the things wrong with Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, and all the people who live

in those places. I asked him to tone it down, whereupon he thrust his face up to within an inch of mine and screamed that I was nothing but a Nazi thug, a Hitler with his Gestapo, etc. etc. I guess the accumulated pressure of several days of insult and invective from this odious individual got the best of me. At any rate, this is when I hit him, although to tell the truth, I didn't realize myself what I had done, and even denied to one of my deputies that I had hit Vivian. However, a rapidly swelling knuckle on my right hand quickly convinced me that my deputy was correct.

Vivian, of course, is a trained agitator. Here is some of the background of this "crusader" for civil rights. Vivian was a speaker at the fourteenth anniversary dinner of the "National Guardian" on November 16, 1962. The "National Guardian" is a communist newspaper published weekly in New York. Its "editor in exile," Cedric Belfrage, was named by Elizabeth Bentley as a person who fed her information when she was a courier for a Soviet spy ring. Belfrage was deported from the United States. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has cited the "National Guardian" as a "virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

Vivian was a speaker at a "liberty rally" held in New York City on June 6, 1963, by the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited this organization as a communist front in 1961, the year it was formed. Hearings held by the committee that year revealed that this organization was set up by the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.

Vivian is one of the sponsors of an organization which was set up to defend a group of Negroes in North Carolina indicted for kidnapping. One of the defendants was Robert F. Williams. Williams, a fugitive from justice, broadcasts vicious anti-U.S. and race-hate propaganda from Havana, Cuba, on a program called "Radio Dixie." Williams has been an honored guest of the Red Chinese Government in Peking and has been featured on the Peking radio, violently denouncing the United States. This is the type of person whom Reverend Vivian deems worthy of his aid and council.

C. T. Vivian granted an interview to James E. Jackson, a top communist party official and editor of the Communist Party newspaper, "The Worker." The interview was featured in "The Worker" of June 30, 1963. Moreover, Mr. Jackson singles out Vivian for praise in a communist pamphlet he has authored entitled "Three Brave Men."

With a public record like Vivian's, I believe any question that his interest in Selma, Alabama, was to promote civil rights would be a subject for serious debate.

For many months, Southern states have been invaded at regular intervals by hordes of so-called civil rights workers. For the most part these are young college students and young ministers who come South apparently out of some misguided sense of Christian duty. Their knowledge of the ways and the people of the South is so limited, and they have been so brainwashed by their sponsoring organizations, that they arrive in the South with a sense of mission akin to that with which they might arrive to spread the word among the head-hunters of darkest New Guinea. This is not an attitude of mind exactly designed to endear these young people to the local populace, most of whom stubbornly cling to the notion that they can successfully order their lives without assistance from an army of bearded young prophets from another world.

Dallas County has had its share of these "field workers." I personally have had little contact with them. I pass along, for whatever it may be worth, however, an account by Dr. Robert J. Henderson, of Selma, of his own efforts to establish communication with a young minister field worker from New England. Here is Dr. Henderson's account of his meeting with Jonathan Daniels from Boston, Massachusetts.

"On Wednesday, which as I remember, was July 21, 1965, I had completed my work in a clinic of the Dallas County Health Department, and was about to leave when a young white man dressed in clerical garb entered the building.

"A lady employee of the Health Department remarked, 'There goes one of those civil rights workers.'

"I followed him down the hall, overtook him, and in-

roduced myself. He told me that his name was Jonathan Daniels. He said that he had come to Selma from Boston, Massachusetts, where he was a student at the Theological Seminary. He said that the Theological Seminary is an Episcopal school. He said that he was living in Selma with a Negro family. In the course of our conversation, I told Mr. Daniels that to my way of thinking one of the inconsistencies of the so-called civil rights movement is that the white people who come down here from the North to participate in it, seclude themselves from the beginning in the Negro community and, as a result of this self-imposed isolation, never afford themselves the opportunity of coming to know the really typical white Southerner. Because of this situation, I explained, the so-called civil rights worker can never really understand the problem, or, indeed, whether or not there even exists a problem at all in the South outside of their own making. I told Mr. Daniels that I considered myself to be a typical white Southerner and that I would welcome an opportunity to have him visit in my home. Jonathan Daniels agreed to come to my house for dinner at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, July 22, 1965.

"Upon his arrival at my home, Jonathan Daniels, who the day before had been dressed in clerical garb, was neatly dressed in sports clothes. The difference in his appearance from the preceding day prompted me to remark that he certainly looked nice. He laughingly said that he had even taken a bath that evening since he was having dinner with white folks.

"I noted a change in the manner in which Jonathan Daniels conducted himself as compared the the preceding day. Whereas, at the time of our first meeting Mr. Daniels appeared to be somewhat reserved and very polished in his manner and language, during the evening under discussion he appeared to be relaxed and very much at ease. He addressed both myself and my wife as "baby," almost on every occasion. We interpreted this to be beatnik-type speech. He made liberal use of mild profanity, mostly as well-known four-letter words held generally to be in poor taste, especially in mixed company. His language at time bordered on being

offensive, but neither my wife nor myself made any issue of the matter. He was allowed to talk as much as he pleased in whatever manner he chose.

"Jonathan Daniels told us that he was 27 years old. He said that beginning next year he would be a senior student at the Theological Seminary. When questioned as to why he chose the ministry as his profession, he did not give any particular reason. He said, in fact, that he was not sure that he would finish studying for the ministry, but that he might study medicine. He said he had been giving the study of medicine a lot of thought recently.

"His theological studies were not suffering because of his coming to Selma, he said, because his school was giving him full academic credit for the time he was spending here. He said that during his absence from school, because of his work in Selma, that he would receive full academic credit and that he would not be required to take any examinations or extra courses to make up for his absence.

"Jonathan Daniels told us that he had been sent to Selma by the National Council of Churches, and that he was with 'ESCRU' which is the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. He said that he was assigned work with SNCC which is the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Exactly what his duties or responsibilities to these organizations really were, he never made clear to us.

"I asked Jonathan Daniels why he left school and came to Selma. He indicated that to the Theological Seminary the civil rights disturbances were very much talked about and that sympathy for the demonstrators ran high. He said that he became more and more concerned about the 'problem,' and that when Selma, Alabama, came to occupy the national spotlight he could no longer resist a 'compulsion' to go to Selma. I do not remember the exact date on which he left school, but as he told us that he had participated in the march to Montgomery, his arrival in Selma was sometime before that date. He said that he left the Theological Seminary in the company of a white girl named Judy. He never gave her last name, but did say that she was studying "Christian Education" (or something that sounded like that) at the same

school. Mr. Daniels said that Judy accompanied him on his trip South. Although I do not remember the various stops they made along the way, I did make a mental note to the effect that, according to his account, Jonathan Daniels and Judy were kept entirely in the company of Negroes and civil rights workers throughout their journey. I do remember Mr. Daniels saying that he and Judy spent the first night in Montgomery on the floor of Martin Luther King's office.

"Regarding the march to Montgomery in which Jonathan Daniels said he participated, I asked him about the misconduct which was alleged to have occurred. He said that no such thing happened, then added, 'Believe me, Baby, there are some real slobs in the civil rights movement.' He did not elaborate on that statement.

"Jonathan Daniels returned 'thanks' for our dinner at my request. As he began to eat his food, he said, 'You know, I won't be eating food like this much longer.' And then he added, 'But then neither will you.' He explained that a great struggle is taking place not only in the South, but also all over the world. He said that this struggle was that of all races against the white race. He believed that the struggle would end in the total elimination of the white man from the face of the earth, after which the world would be a better place in which to live. 'There's going to be trouble, Baby, a lot of trouble,' he said. He said that locally in Selma the Negroes were arming themselves. He asked if I knew of the 'Deacons.' I said that I had heard of the group. He said that the 'Deacons' are very strong in Selma. When he was reminded that he, Jonathan Daniels, was a white man, and that when the white race is destroyed he would also be eliminated, he said that he knew that. He said that when that day came he would die in the street standing beside white men. I don't really know what he meant by that statement, but Jonathan Daniels made clear to us that most of the wrongs in the world as he saw them were committed by the white race and, in the violent destruction of the white man, he felt that the other races of the world would benefit.

"Until the struggle between the white man and the other races of the world is resolved, Mr. Daniels said that in the

meantime the Negro people are suffering great injustices which require correction. I replied that, assuming that statement to be true, we have laws under which any citizen can obtain his rights. He said that existing laws would never give the Negro people the justice to which they are entitled, and that they must seek justice outside the law. I pointed out that the expression 'outside the law' was the equivalent to me of 'no law' which in turn is the same thing as 'anarchy.' 'Anarchy,' I said, 'In its most perfect and sublime form is communism.' I then asked directly, 'Jonathan, are you a communist?' Jonathan Daniels replied, 'I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am a Christian-Marxist.' I stated that to me there was no such thing as a 'Christian-Marxist'; that, to my way of thinking, the two terms are mutually exclusive. He said that I should not try to argue theology with him, that he was trained in theology. He said, 'To explain it simply, a Christian-Marxist is one who believes that Karl Marx takes over where Jesus Christ left off.' I then asked if he meant to say that, with a belief such as he had just expressed to me, in another year or two he would occupy a pulpit in the Episcopal Church. 'Myself and many more like me,' he replied.

"At one point in the discussion Jonathan Daniels asked 'Doctor, what do you believe in?' I replied that, politically speaking, I believe in the Constitution of the United States and its proper interpretation. Mr. Daniels replied that the Constitution of the United States is a 'mere scrap of paper' and that it is 'completely worthless.' I replied that he was talking about some old friends of mine; namely, Jefferson, Adams and a lot of others.

" 'They are fascists,' said Jonathan Daniels. 'I have two hundred years of education to teach me how wrong those fascists were when they wrote the Constitution.'

"In spite of the fact that Jonathan Daniels had been at times provocative and even somewhat offensive during the evening, and in spite of the fact that I had been frank in my discussion with him, at no time was there a loss of temper by any of us. At the conclusion of our visit, Jonathan Daniels offered to return to my home again for further discussion at any time I chose. We took leave of each other

courteously.”

Young Daniels made it clear enough in his conversation with Dr. Henderson what he believed the final solution of racial conflict will be — the ultimate destruction of the white race. He never did make it clear exactly what his activities in Selma were supposed to contribute to this solution. When Daniels said that he believed “Karl Marx takes over where Jesus Christ left off” he could only have been speaking from a depth of almost total ignorance of both Marxism and Christianity. Karl Marx’ philosophy was based on a belief that everything derives from matter, even thoughts, conscience, religion and philosophy. To a materialist like Marx, God exists only as a by-product of the brain. To Marx, religion was an “opiate of the people” because it deluded them into thinking that life on earth was not important compared to an afterlife. Marx believed that religion prevented people from striving for a better life on earth — the only one they would ever know. Such are the teachings of the man who inspired Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev to create the Godless society with which we are today locked in mortal combat all over the face of the earth. It is hard to imagine anything more meaningless than the term “Christian-Marxist” which Daniels applied to himself. It is not hard to imagine the fate of the Christian churches in America, however, if this is the kind of thing young ministerial students are being taught in their seminars today.

Those people who have been persuaded to believe that a search for communist influences in the civil rights movement is nothing more than a modern-day witch hunt should listen to former Ambassador to Switzerland, Henry J. Taylor. In April, 1965, Mr. Taylor wrote in his syndicated newspaper column about a conversation he once had with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. In Mr. Taylor’s words, “Gromyko’s bland, sphinx-like personality reminds you of a magician who comes on stage without table or props — just a handkerchief hidden in his hand. Then for 20 minutes he pulls unexpected things out of it.

“For example, in an airplane flying the Atlantic,

Gromyko suddenly recited to me the foreign-born percentages in our chief trade unions and in our 12 largest cities, and then mentioned in passing that more Czechs live in Chicago than in any city except Prague.

"Or listen to Gromyko on another occasion. 'Mr. Taylor,' he said, 'what you Americans call law is really a form of politics.' He didn't just say that. He thinks that. Such are the notes he plays when he calls the turn for Kremlin policy inside our country.

"This means Gromyko calls the tune for the Communist Party, U.S.A. In December, 1956, that party began a program which it named the 'Lincoln Project.' Its target date for fulfillment should interest us today — 1965.

"At its inception in 1956, the plan was published in Philadelphia by the respected American Flag Committee. It read:

" 'To implement the Lincoln Project, the Communist Party's Central Committee will begin to dispatch agents to all Southern states next month (January, 1957) to work with local party leaders in surveying 20 counties, any one of which might be ideally suited as a target for disorder early in 1965.

" 'This survey will continue through 1957, the Central Committee making the choice of 20 counties. . . with the final selection to be made on the estimated most favorable conditions prevailing in 1965.

" 'The legislation which the party will seek from Congress in 1965 has already been prepared by its legal staff. It provides for elimination of all educational requirements, including minimum literacy tests, as qualifications for voting in Federal, state and local elections; voids residence with respect to counties, municipalities and other political subdivisions within a state, and establishes a system of direct Federal supervision and control of local, county, state and Federal elective process.' "

The "Lincoln Project" of the Communist Party, U.S.A., formulated in 1956, has been almost one hundred percent successful. I don't think there is any doubt but that Dallas County, Alabama, was one of the "20 counties, any one of

which might be ideally suited as a target for disorder early in 1965." I see no cause for wonder at the presence on the Selma-to-Montgomery march of top communist leaders in the United States. They were there to harvest the fruits of their efforts.

The leadership, direction and control of the civil rights movement is in the hands of the communists and communist sympathizers. The participation of communists in the civil rights movement is neither accidental nor incidental — as the "Lincoln Project" reveals. Communists do not participate in movements that they cannot control. Their control of the civil rights movement in this country is not inspired by any desire for social progress or "freedom." It is part of an over-all plan to chip away at the foundations of our government until the whole structure collapses. I have seen this plan in action on the streets of Selma, Alabama. If it should ultimately succeed, among the first victims will be the Negroes of Dallas County, Alabama. I would follow close behind.

As long as I am Sheriff of Dallas County, I intend to do what I can, no matter how limited it may be, to continue to protect the lives and property of the people in my county against any kind of criminal activity and exploitation. The thing that is lost in all the breast-beating that has accompanied the civil disorders in Selma is that Sheriff Jim Clark is sheriff of all the people in Dallas County — not just the white people; not just the people who voted for me, but all the people.

If I can, I intend to keep it that way.



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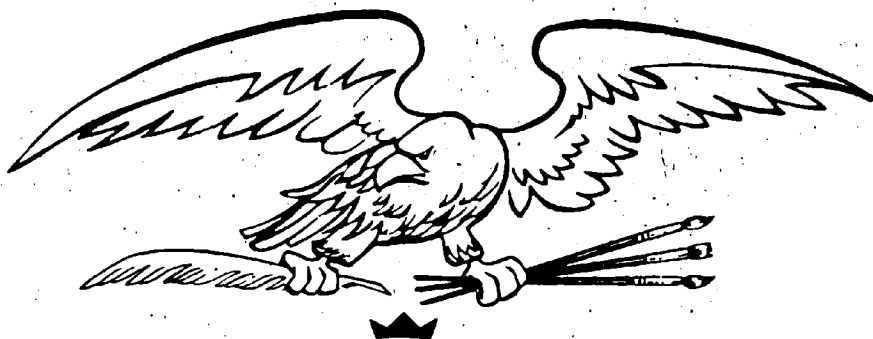
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"It is hard for me to believe that newspapers, wire services, national magazines and TV networks with audiences numbering in the tens of millions do not have the sense of responsibility that should go with such enormous power to influence thought and shape public opinion."

"A policeman, sheriff, or any law enforcement officer must learn to accept as an occupational hazard a certain amount of abuse — physical and otherwise."

"In order to understand what a community and its people are, you have to go back to the beginning and see where they came from."

"To me it is unthinkable that representatives of the judicial arm of our national government should attempt to subvert the law. Yet I can put no other construction on the actions and efforts of the Department of Justice and its attorneys. . . ."

"...most people in Selma viewed the Selma-to-Montgomery march with revulsion. . .not for the Negroes attempting to improve their status, but for the invasion of their community by groups of degenerates . . . whose behavior was openly indecent, sexual in nature and, whether by design or otherwise, bound to provoke."